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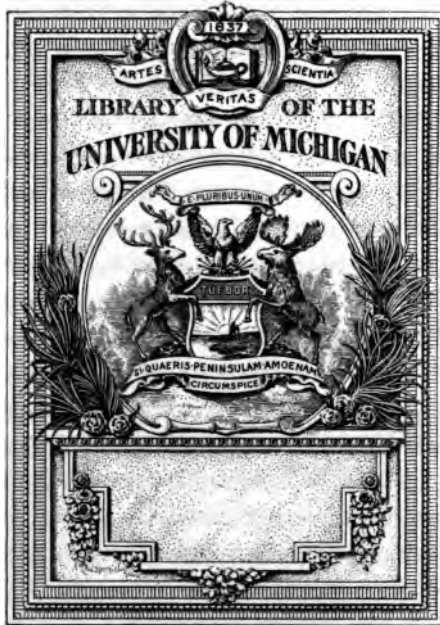
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HISTORIC
GREEN BAY.





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HISTORIC
GREEN BAY.

1634-1840

BY

ELLA HOES NEVILLE
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DEBORAH BEAUMONT MARTIN

GREEN BAY, WIS.
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORS

1893

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BY ELLA HOES NEVILLE, SARAH GREENE MARTIN
DEBORAH BEAUMONT MARTIN

PRESS OF
EVENING WISCONSIN COMPANY,
MILWAUKEE.

*To the noble women—wives of the early
American settlers—who so successfully aided in
the advancement of the little frontier town, this
volume is affectionately dedicated.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Wisconsin was being explored when Plymouth Colony was but fourteen years old, and from that time forward had a highly picturesque career. Under the French dominion of a century and a half, there swept across this stage a motley throng of Jesuits, soldiers, *coureurs de bois*, and gentlemanly adventurers. We have the Marco Polo-like experiences of Nicolet and Radisson, first of fur-traders; the fearless zeal of Allouez and Ménard, seeking to bring Wisconsin savages to an adoration of the Christ; the simple resoluteness of Marquette, type of the exploring priest; the dash and bravery of Perrot and Du Lhut, princes of *coureurs de bois*; the strange adventures of La Hontan and Hennepin; the imperial dreams of La Salle. Mingled with this famous company, as a sort of chorus, were the singing *voyageurs*, gaily dight; and the fiddling *habitan*, poor but happy in his narrow field. Then came the long and bitter struggle between French and English, in which De Langlade made Wisconsin known away off on the borders of Virginia—on Braddock's field, and in many another slaughter pen. When, in the next act of the drama, the English banner waved over Green Bay, Wisconsin remained French, as Quebec remains to-day, with the allegiance of the trader, the *habitan*, and the *voyageur* transferred to the conqueror. American supremacy, when it came, was not so kindly received here as the English, for the American is a land-grabber, and seeks to supplant barbarism with civilization. So long, however, as the fur trade remained the ruling interest, the French were still supreme at Green Bay, and well into this century there existed at that old outpost of New

France a social life which smacked of the old *regime*, which bore more traces of seventeenth-century Normandy, than of Puritan New England. But with the decadence of the forest trade a new order of things slowly grew up; and by 1840, two hundred years after Nicolet first trod its soil, Green Bay had become almost thoroughly Americanized, although just enough of the spirit of the past still lingers there, to cast a halo of romance around the quaint old town, and make it congenial browsing ground for the student of human progress.

The story of this venerable community is well worth telling. Heretofore it has lacked an adequate chronicler; but the present authors, entering upon their task in a discriminating spirit, well-versed in the elements of their tale, and industrious as well as zealous, have given us in this little book what cannot but be generally accepted as a truthful and worthy picture of HISTORIC GREEN BAY.

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES.

MADISON, Wis., Dec. 4, 1893.

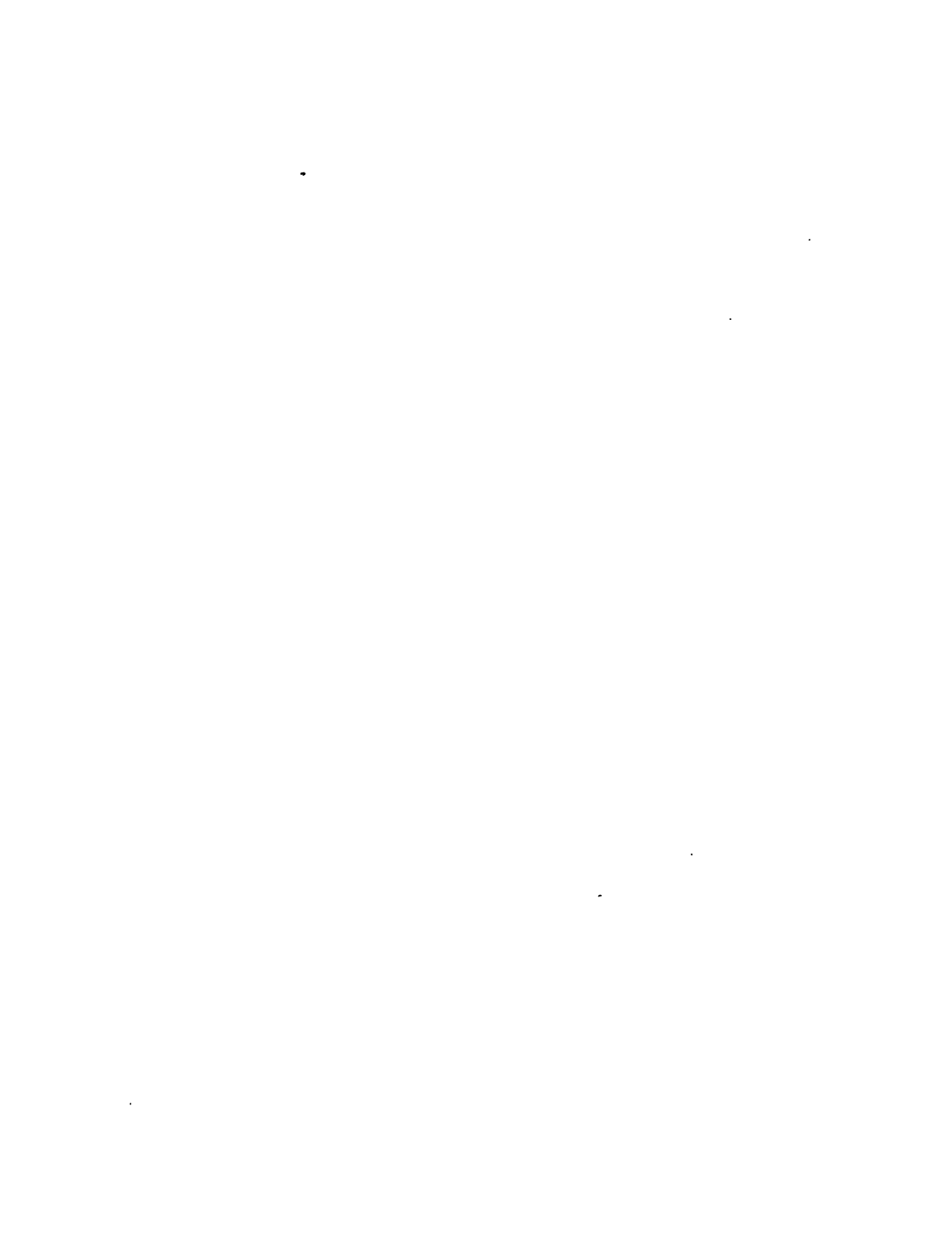
AUTHORS' NOTE.—In the preparation of this sketch of old Green Bay we have received valuable aid from various sources. We desire to express our grateful acknowledgment to Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Secretary of the State Historical Society, who has kindly revised both manuscript and proof, making numerous helpful suggestions; he has also made for us the copious index, which will greatly add to the value of the book. To Mr. David H. Grignon, Mr. James S. Baker, and Capt. Curtis R. Merrill, for the loan of letters and manuscripts, and to other friends, at home and abroad, who have given material assistance, we tender cordial thanks, regretting that lack of space prevents the mention of each by name. Major-General John C. Robinson, Mrs. Jefferson Davis, and the late Dr. Francis Parkman have also laid us under obligations which we can repay only in gratitude.

THE AUTHORS.

GREEN BAY, Dec. 2, 1893.

CONTENTS.

1634-1745.		
CHAPTER I.		
Early Explorations.....	PAGE. 1	
CHAPTER II.		
The Jesuits and Coureurs de Bois.....	24	
CHAPTER III.		
Fort St. Francis and The Fox War.....	57	
1745-1815.		
CHAPTER IV.		
Charles de Langlade, First Permanent Settler and Military Hero.....	92	
CHAPTER V.		
"In Good Old Colony Days".....	126	
1815-1840.		
CHAPTER VI.		
Under the American Flag.....	147	
CHAPTER VII.		
A Transition Period.....	178	
CHAPTER VIII.		
The Lost Dauphin.	210	
CHAPTER IX.		
In Later Years.....	231	
CHAPTER X.		
Growth Under Territorial Government	257	
INDEX		277



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE.
Fox River at the Rapides des Pères.....	15
Map made by the Jesuits, 1671.....	47
Ostensorium presented by Nicholas Perrot, 1686.....	74
Base of Ostensorium.....	75
Commission of Charles de Langlade.....	107
Home of Jacques Porlier.....	128
Fort Howard in 1851.....	163
Old anchor found in Fox River.....	174
Judge Doty's residence at Shantytown.....	187
Chimney of Agency House, built 1825.....	209
House where Priest Williams was married.	219
Whitney homestead—first house in Nava- rino.....	235
Old lighthouse tower, Long-Tail Point.....	271



HISTORIC GREEN BAY.

1634-1840.

CHAPTER I.

Early Explorations.

The history of a new country is found written along her waterways, the record beginning at the seaboard, and slowly working up each stream, opening a passage into the interior. Until 1634, the colonists, who were making the history of America, clung feebly to the "fringe of the continent," no successful effort having been made to penetrate the mysteries lying beyond the coast.

There was a small settlement of English at Jamestown, at that time, numbering about two thousand souls, who, having given up the wild search for gold, which had brought them across the sea, had turned their attention to agriculture, and were raising tobacco in large quantities for shipment to England. Following the death of John Smith and Powhatan, the Indians had made an unsuccessful attempt to massacre, with the design of exterminating the colony. A bloody war was the result, in which the savages had been

subdued, but the colonists scarcely yet dared venture beyond the sound of a cannon.

To the north, on the Island of Manhattan, basking in the sunshine of successful trade with the natives, lay the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam ; Wouter Van Twiller was governor. Dutch trading stations had sprung up all the way from the Connecticut River to the Delaware, and along the Hudson as far as Albany, but the colony was not large.

Still farther to the north, on the forbidding and rocky shore of Massachusetts Bay, was another settlement, where a small band of earnest men and women were struggling for life. In the fourteen years which had elapsed since their landing, the Pilgrims had gradually increased in numbers until they had overspread the narrow strip of country where they first established themselves. From time to time small parties had gone forth from the colony, following the minister of their choice, through the pathless forest, until reaching some attractive spot, where they deemed the Lord had led them, they built log huts, raised palisades, and founded a

new town. But this sturdy people, who gave to America the backbone and sinews of moral and intellectual worth, was yet lacking in the enthusiasm and imagination necessary to explorers; the pioneers of the North American forests were of another race.

Early in the century the French had become familiar with the coast and outlying islands of Canada, and had established a colony at Quebec. In 1634, Samuel de Champlain was commander of the fort, and governor of New France, a position which, with the varying fortunes of the colony, he held at intervals for nearly twenty years. Though nominally controlling the vast region which stretches from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, he was in reality only the prop and stay of a little band of half-starved Frenchmen, held together, through brief summers and bitter winters, by his courage and determination; for in him alone was the life of New France. In the intervals of almost yearly visits to France, —where we read of him as mingling in the court life at Fontainebleau, Chantilly, and Paris,—he was the companion of

savages, sharing their privations, trials, and battles, while busy with new discoveries, making charts of rivers and lakes, and noting all that could be learned of the unexplored land lying far to the west, and of the savage tribes by which it was inhabited. In that direction, across what was supposed to be only a narrow continent, Champlain looked to find the short route to India, the discovery of which was the aim and ambition of the explorers of the age.

Vague reports had reached Champlain, through the Algonquins, who came yearly to Quebec to barter peltries for French merchandise, of a strange nation, speaking an unfamiliar tongue, who dwelt in a country afterwards known as the region of La Baye, on the borders of a great water connecting with Lake Huron.*

They were called Puants or Winnepe-
gous, a term freely translated by the
French into "stinkards" or "men of the
sea," as they were supposed to have
emigrated from the Pacific, or even from

* The region from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi was known as the Country of the Puants or La Baye des Puants. The French called it also La Baye.

the more distant shores of China.* Champlain's eager fancy pictured them as living either near or on a stream which emptied into the Vermilion Sea.† Of a nature credulous and romantic, his imagination had been fired by these stories brought by the Indians, and he hoped, no doubt, to visit this distant country and explore its treasures himself. But the dangers and uncertainty of such a journey were not to be undertaken lightly, and it was necessary to await a more favorable time. He had traveled toward it, however, as far as Lake Huron, and a map made by him in 1632 shows that he had, from hearsay at least, a fair idea of that lake, of Lake Superior, and of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, although the latter he places north, instead of south, of Lake Superior.

In 1618 there had come to Quebec, from

* Winnebagoes-Ouinebegoutz. A Dakota tribe; the name was given them by the Algonquins, and also means Fetid; they called themselves Otchagras, trout nation, or Horoji, fish eaters. Charlevoix says they received the name because along the shore near their cabins one saw nothing but stinking fish, which infected the air.—*Relations 1639-40*, p. 35, *Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes*, Vols. III., p. 277, IV., p. 227. *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, Vol. III., p. 137.

† Gulf of California.

Normandy, a youth who was destined to open the first page of the history of the Northwest. Jean Nicolet was born at Cherbourg about the year 1598, and was therefore in the first years of manhood when he reached the shores of New France. Soon after his arrival he came under the notice of Champlain, who recognized in his quick wit, fearlessness, and sturdy honesty a power much needed in the furtherance of his own plans for extending trade with the Indians, as well as pushing explorations toward the west.

Interpreters had been greatly needed in the new colony to facilitate intercourse with the natives, and for some years the Governor had been sending young men to reside among the Indians for the purpose of learning their language and becoming acquainted with their manners and customs. To this number Nicolet was added, and was sent far up the valley of the Ottawa, to Allumette Island, where he lived for two years among the Algonkians. Later he spent eight or nine years with the tribes in the vicinity of Lake Nipissing, isolated from civilization, living the wild life of the savages, and noting down his

observations of Indian life and character.*

Of a deeply religious nature, he is said to have suffered for the consolations of the church, "without which, among the savages, is great peril for the soul." For this reason, or it may be, recalled by Champlain, he left his forest life, and in 1632 arrived at Quebec and assumed the duties of interpreter and clerk for the Hundred Associates, the great fur company which Cardinal Richelieu ruled in France.

Two years later word was brought to the settlement of trouble which had arisen between the Hurons and the distant tribe of Winnepegous, and by the former the intercession of the French was requested. For this mission, Jean Nicolet was selected as best fitted, not only to endure the hardships of the journey, but to successfully conclude a treaty with the savages. His intimate knowledge of their character, with its complications of child-like trustfulness, Spartan stoicism, and deadly spirit of revenge, had gained for him great influence over them, which now could be used for the advantage of the French.

* Jesuit Relations, 1635, p. 30.

On the first day of July, 1634, two fleets of canoes left Quebec and paddled up the St. Lawrence, the one to build a fort where to-day stands the town of Three Rivers, the other, under the direction of Father Brebeuf, to found a Jesuit mission among the Hurons. With the latter party was Jean Nicolet.* They took the only route then traveled by the French, up the Ottawa River, through Lake Nipissing, on the Georgian Bay, to Lake Huron. Some of the company were left at Allumette Island, while Nicolet, commissioned by the governor, proceeded to the Huron villages on Georgian Bay to obtain men of that nation to accompany him, seven of whom were selected as guides and boat men. Some time late in July, he finally embarked on his perilous voyage, over unknown waters, in search of the Winnepegous. With him, in the long birch bark canoe, were the Huron savages, whose half-naked figures, dusky shoulders, and coarse, unkempt hair, he was to see before him week after week, as their long arms ceaselessly plied the paddles.

Skirting the northern shore of Lake

* Wis. Hist. Colls. Vol. VIII., p. 191.

Huron, they rounded the Manitoulin Islands and reaching the Sault St. Marie, ascended as far as the rapids; there Nicolet remained for a few days' rest among the people of the Falls, without a glance, so far as known, at the great "sister of the sea," lying so near.* He descended the river and continued on to Mackinac Island, where the blue expanse of *la douce mer* meets the clear green waters of Lake Michigan. Seated in his frail canoe, a tiny craft to battle with wind-swept wastes and adverse tides, Nicolet passed through the Straits of Mackinac, out upon the great lake beyond, the first white man, it is believed, to look upon its broad surface. Autumn had overtaken the explorer and his tawny boatmen, and they were often compelled to beach their canoe for days at a time, from stress of weather; while frequent stops were made for visits among the various tribes inhabiting the coast, all so far branches of Algonquin stock and therefore friendly. Boldly pursuing his course he rounded Point Detour and entered Big Bay de Noquet, where he found a small band of the Noquets,

* Thwaites's Story of Wisconsin, p. 26.

another Algonquin tribe, with whom he smoked the pipe of peace, and then hastened on. Coasting along the low western shore of Green Bay, he came to the Menominees, a tribe of "lighter complexion than their neighbors, remarkably well formed and active," dwelling on the borders of a river which now bears their name. There he learned that the Winnepegous were distant only a few hours' journey, and sent one of the Hurons in advance to announce his coming; then pressed on himself, eager to solve the mystery which for so long had hung about this people.

Nicolet had brought with him a flowing robe of damask, richly embroidered in flowers and birds of various colors, that the envoy of the great governor of New France might appear in fitting garb before the stately Mandarins of the East, whom he expected to meet. We can imagine the explorer, bronzed and roughened by exposure, looking not unlike the natives themselves, drawing this gorgeous garment over his weather-stained deer-skin suit, and the awe with which such unaccustomed magnificence impressed his dusky associates. Seated in state in the canoe, he

was carried along the western shore from whence was visible the now familiar bluffs of Red Banks,—the traditionary Garden of Eden of the Winnepegous,* where not many years later, according to legend, a bloody Indian battle was fought.† Reaching Long Tail Point, jutting far out towards the east, they took advantage of the short-cut afforded, and passed through the channel separating the point from the main-land. Coming to Grass Island, that low green bar which until recent years stretched from the western shore three miles or more eastward, they again saved a long detour by pushing through one of the Bass Channels, and crossing the inner bay, Nicolet saw before him the mouth of the river of the Puants, better known to the Indians as the Outagamie.‡

Summer had passed, and the great fields of wild rice, which earlier in the season were a waving wealth of green, leaving only a narrow channel up the river, had dwindled to a remnant of skeleton stalks, through which the light wind sighed and

* Thwaites's *Story of Wisconsin*, p. 28.

† *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, Vols. II., 491; III., 203.

‡ At a later day called Neenah, and now known as Fox River.

rustled ; for on one of the golden days of October, it is probable, the first white man landed on these shores. The canoe was run up on the beach, and, stepping out with all the dignity of an ambassador, Nicolet advanced slowly, discharging at the same time two small pistols, which he held in either hand. No denizens of the Flowery Kingdom, attired, like himself, in costly gowns of embroidered damask, came forth to meet him, only a horde of naked savages crowded down to the shore, while the women and children ran shrieking from the "strange being who carried thunder in both hands."

Concealing his feeling of disgust and disappointment, Nicolet stalked forward, trailing his useless robe of ceremony, and was soon joined with the Winnepegous in friendly council. The news of his coming spread rapidly among the neighboring nations "and four or five thousand warriors assembled. Each of the chiefs gave a feast and at one of these, one hundred and twenty-five beavers were eaten. Peace was concluded." Thus ends Père Vimont's* account of the first visit of a Frenchman

* Relations, 1643, pp. 3 *et seq.*

to the place where now stand the sister cities of Green Bay and Fort Howard.

Having completed his mission to the Winnepegous, Nicolet proceeded on his way to visit the Mascoutins, then located some distance up the river of the Puants. This stream, which rises in the springs of Columbia County, flows, in turn, toward each point of the compass—turning, twisting, through prairie, marsh, and willow copse, like the sinuous serpent whose trail it is said to have followed.* Approaching, in the first league of its journey to within something over a mile of the Wisconsin,† it turns suddenly, and, after receiving the waters of the Wolf, is soon lost in Lake Winnebago. Starting afresh, it winds its way between picturesque shores; at times broad and shallow, it hurries in shining rapids over its bed, then narrowed by some jutting headland to a few rods in width, resumes its tranquil flow and so goes on until, five miles above its mouth, it reaches the present site of the City of De Pere. There, after a last rush, it broadens out to a good mile from shore to shore, and then sweeps steadily onward to the broad waters of the Bay.

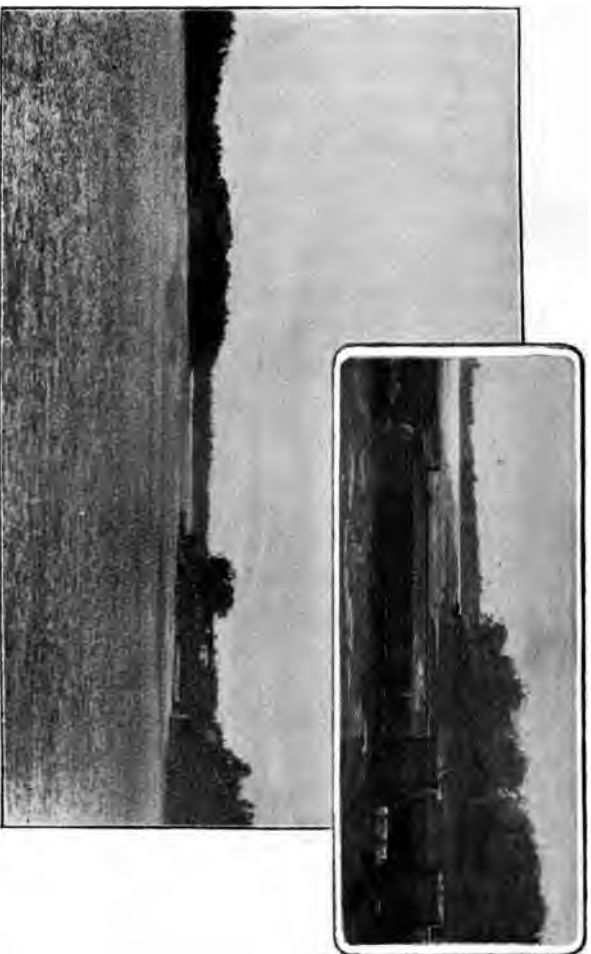
* Thwaites's Story of Wisconsin, p. 33.

† The famous Portage, of a later day.

Nicolet found the Mascoutins not far from the present site of Berlin. After a stay of some length at their village, he took his path over the prairie to the south and visited the nations of the Illinois, returning to Quebec by way of Lake Michigan, the following spring.* The few remaining years of this noted man's life were full of usefulness and honor. Beloved by Frenchmen and Indians, and the trusted ally of the missionaries, he contributed to the advancement of the colonies in Canada and to winning souls for God and Holy Church. On the 27th of October, 1642, he was drowned in the St. Lawrence while making the trip from Quebec to Three Rivers, to save an Indian prisoner from torture. Thus passed from earth one whose name is recalled in Canada by river, town, college, and county, but in the west, where he led the van of civilization, is singularly forgotten.

In 1635, on Christmas day, Samuel de Champlain died, and with him passed away much of the life of the colony and its interest in western explorations. War between England and France and the

* Thwaites's *Story of Wisconsin*, p. 34.



Fox River at the Rapides des Pères.

disputed supremacy in Canada, had also drawn the attention of New France from further discoveries, while individuals were deterred from the distant voyage because of the enmity of the Iroquois, which made traveling, except in large parties, extremely hazardous.

Radisson and Groseilliers, names unknown to history, until recent years,* were yet among the most intrepid and successful explorers over western waterways, during the latter half of the 17th century. Radisson had been something of a traveler in the forests of the east before he was joined in his journeying by Groseilliers, his sister's husband. Held together not only by family ties, but by the stronger one of sympathy and friendship, they made valuable discoveries in savage wilds; were pioneers in the commerce of the northwest; the first traders, so far as known, and the founders of the great Hudson Bay Fur Company. We have the story of many of their wanderings in the quaint, unlettered, but picturesque writings of Radisson. He flound-

* Wis. Hist. Colls., Vols. X., p. 292, and XI., pp. 64-96.

ers and gets into deep waters with his Frenchy-English, but writes strongly and to the point, as when he describes one tribe which he visited as the "coursedest unabl-est, the unfamous and cowardliest people." He must, however, have conveyed to Charles II. of England, for whom it is supposed the manuscripts were prepared, a unique conception of savage life, when he wrote of visiting the Indians in their "apartments," but his journal is a valuable addition to history; his quick wit brightens all that he looked upon, and gives interest to even the most sombre detail. The manuscripts fell into the hands of Pepys, then secretary of the Admiralty to Charles, and that part descriptive of his western travels, with Pepys' own writings, in 1703, came into the possession of London shop-keepers, when both writers had passed from earth. After much peril and the destruction of some of them as waste paper, they were rescued and at last drifted into the British Museum, where they now are. It was not until 1885 that they were discovered by Mr. Gideon D. Scull, of London, transcribed by him and became known in Wisconsin.

It was about the middle of June, 1658, that these travelers and twenty-nine other Frenchmen left Three Rivers, over the usual route to the upper country, having with them Huron "wildmen," who acted as guides. They had not journeyed far up the Ottawa when they were attacked by a wandering band of Iroquois, whose tireless and resistless enmity against the French had been provoked by Champlain while espousing the interests of the Algonquin tribes against them. Radisson and Groseilliers had anticipated the attack and met it with a brave defense, but their fellow voyagers, "who would travel and see new countries," frightened and put to rout, turned and fled to Three Rivers and the protection of the Fort. Even their names are unknown, while Radisson and Groseilliers, by continuing forward, earned the distinction of being first to explore Lake Superior; to paddle down the Wisconsin, and float on the waters of the upper Mississippi, fifteen years prior to the famed discovery of Marquette and Joliet.

Their first landing, after a prosperous voyage, was at a Huron village on

one of the lesser Manitoulin Islands, where they assisted their hosts in overcoming a party of eleven Iroquois, eight of whom were slain and three captured alive. This victory won the entire confidence of the Hurons, who, believing their guests to be Manitous bringing success to their arms, wished to detain them indefinitely; it was only at the travelers' urgent request that they were finally furnished with boats and helped on their way, for their desire, Radisson says, "was not to stay in an island, but to be known with the remotest people." Stopping at the Grand Manitoulin for a short rest with the nation of "ye staring haires,"* they pushed slowly on until it was nearly autumn, when they skirted along the northern shore of Lake Michigan.

Nearing La Baye, they reached a populous Indian country, filled with excitement at the news which their ambassador had brought of their approach. To realize the interest their arrival inspired, it must be remembered that only once before had these children of the

*The Ottawas, so called from the manner of wearing their hair erect, like the quills of the porcupine.

forest been visited by a white man, and twenty-four years had passed since then, during which many changes had taken place,—papooses had grown into braves, and aged warriors had gone to the spirit land. It was, naturally, an occasion for rejoicing; “feasts were made, dames with gifts came of each side with a great deal of mirth.” The winter was spent in the region of the Baye des Puants, and at its conclusion Radisson writes: “I assure you I liked no country as that wherein we wintered; for whatever a man could desire was to be had in plenty, viz.: stagg, fishes in abundance and all sorts of meat; corn enough.”

In the spring the two men ascended the Fox River to visit the Mascoutins, who yet dwelt where Nicolet had found them, a little back from the river, and above Lake Winnebago. For four months they were carried about from river to river in the canoes of these admiring Indians, becoming familiar with regions heretofore unvisited, and doing more towards the future opening up and development of the country than could, at the time, have been understood. It was on this

journey, some time during the summer of 1659, that they visited the Mississippi. "That summer I went a hunting," Radisson writes, and then in his entangled, inconsequential style, states the discovery of "ye great river, which divides itself in two, and which we believe runs towards Mexico by the tokens they gave us." A part of the next winter was spent in that which is now the state of Wisconsin, near the head waters of the Chippewa, but as far as we now know, these interesting travelers never again visited La Baye.

Important discoveries were made and great advancement in trade brought about by these two men, serving alternately under the French and English flags as fancy or self-interest dictated; but the interest in Groseilliers pales before Radisson, the debonair Frenchman, who shows like a hero of romance in the annals of the seventeenth century. Voyaging on unknown waters, in deadly peril from hostile Indians, brought to the verge of starvation in Huron wigwams, he at last steps gaily off the stage, courted and honored in England and wedded to the daughter of an English peer. That which most men would con-

sider an achievement worth the toil of a lifetime, he treats as a summer ramble, and lightly tells of discoveries which explorers of a later day perjured themselves to claim.

Thus the pale face first set foot upon the borders of the lower Fox. Many years elapsed before the Indian was driven from the valley of his loved Outagamie, but the wedge had entered which in the end was to rive the tribes asunder and reduce them from powerful nations to mere vassals of the invader; from haughty owners of the soil to dependents upon a government false to its promises and unmindful of the welfare of its wards.

CHAPTER II.

The Jesuits and Coureurs de Bois.

During the decade that followed the adventurous journey of Radisson and Groseilliers, two powerful agencies were at work for the advancement of European influence, in what was then the far west. Commerce and religion struggled together, advancing slowly, side by side, into the heart of the new country, until, in course of time, there was to be seen within every palisaded enclosure, a trader's hut and a mission chapel, each dependent upon the other.

The pious missionaries, sent out by the Catholic Church to convert the savages, were the convenient instruments used by the crafty mercenaries of Quebec to effect their own selfish design in entering the new country, but, as the traders became firmly established, the priests were cast aside, and protection withdrawn from the mission stations, without which they could not exist. It is impossible to estimate the power for good which the holy lives and teachings of

the fathers exerted over the natives during these years; but French brandy, and the civilized vices of the *coureurs de bois* in the end proved the stronger, and after a century of labor the missionaries were obliged to withdraw from the field for the lack of a following. Of many of these years, there is a full and undoubtedly accurate record in the Jesuit Relations, a continuous narrative written in the form of reports, by the different members of the Order of Jesus occupying mission stations from 1633 to 1679, and transmitted through the Superior at Quebec to the Provincials at Paris. These writings record in detail the progress of Christianity among the natives, interspersed with descriptions of the new country opening to missionary work. In the first reports, mention is made of a rumor which had reached Quebec, of numerous tribes gathered in the region of the Puants, which is described as being only nine days' journey from the great lake,* and lying on the borders of a sea which separates America from China. In 1639, Père Vimont, in his report, mentions having been told by one who had visited

*Lake Huron.

these tribes, that he had seen them "assembled as in a fair to buy and sell, in numbers so great that they could not be counted; it gave an idea of the cities of Europe." Another priest states that they would not allow the "rage of hell, nor the cruelty of the Iroquois, which is worse than the demons of hell," to stand in the way of their occupying this rich field, but the organization, numbering only fifteen members on this side the ocean, was not at that time strong enough to conduct a mission so far from the parent society.

In the year 1660, the first attempt was made to establish the faith in what is now Wisconsin, when for a short time the aged Jesuit priest, Father René Ménard, instructed the Indians on the shore of Lake Superior, but soon laid down his life in the holy cause, either killed by lurking savages, or dying from exposure while lost in the woods, portaging around one of the rapids in the Black River.*

* Thwaites's Story of Wisconsin, p. 46.

Shea's Catholic Church in Colonial Days states that Ménard was killed on the upper waters of the Wisconsin River. Indian legend places the occurrence on the bay shore, while in History of Northern Wis. (West. Hist. Co.), he is said to have died at the first rapids of the Menominee.

This sad event left the station vacant, and in August, 1665, Père Claude Allouez was sent to continue the work, which had had such an unfavorable beginning. He located the mission at a place then known as La Pointe, on Chequamegon Bay, and named it in honor of the Holy Ghost, calling the region La Pointe du Saint Esprit. To this, the earliest chapel built on the southern shore of Lake Superior, representatives of many different nations flocked, eager to meet a Frenchman and hear his interesting stories of the new religion. The Chippewas came from the Sault and pitched their bark lodges near his cabin, listening to his instructions. The Sacs and Foxes followed the trail through the forests, and the Illinois left their prairies, and traveled on foot, to see the wonderful medicine man. The Pottawattamies also came and brought reports from their country, of the Baye des Puants, where French traders had established themselves and were giving offense to the numerous tribes of that vicinity. This latter tribe begged Allouez to return with them and settle these troubles, and, although they evinced no disposition for the faith, he

would have gone to their country, deeming it the best field for the gospel, but for the present, as he wrote his superiors, his time was fully occupied. During the early summer of 1669 he went down to Quebec to lay the subject of establishing a mission at La Baye before the society, taking with him several Iroquois captives whom he had rescued from their enemies, and through whom he was successful in effecting a temporary peace between the Five Nations and the western tribes.

The season was far advanced before Allouez was able to embark on his return to Lake Superior. As far as Michillimackinac, he was accompanied by Père Dablon, who had been appointed Superior of the Mission of the Outatouacs, of which the Baye des Puants was soon to become a part. Allouez continued on to La Pointe, but in November, having been relieved by Father Jacques Marquette, he and two other Frenchmen set out with a band of Pottawattamies to carry the announcement of Christianity to the inhabitants along the valley of the lower Fox. They arrived safely at the Sault in the latter part of October, and left there November third. It

was late in the season for a journey on the waters of this northern latitude, and the travelers encountered storms of sleet and snow, while cold, cutting winds made progress painfully slow, and at times shipwreck appeared almost inevitable.

In a letter written by Father Allouez to the Rev. Father Superior, he gives a graphic description of this adventurous voyage.* He says: "We set out from the Sault the third of November, according to my dates; two canoes of Pouteouatamis, wishing to take me to their country, not that I might instruct them, they having no disposition to receive the faith, but to mollify some young Frenchmen, who were among them for the purpose of trading, and who threatened and ill-treated them. The first day, we arrived at the entrance of Lake Huron, where we slept under shelter of the islands; the length of the voyage and the difficulties of the route in consequence of the lateness of the season, hastened us to have recourse to St. Francis Xavier, the patron of our mission, by obliging me to celebrate the holy mass, and my two companions to commune, on the day of the

* Relations, 1670, 92-100.

festival, in his honor, and further to invoke his aid twice every day by reciting his prayers.

“About mid-day on the fourth, we doubled the cape which forms the bend, and is the commencement of the strait or gulf of Lake Huron, well known, and of Lake Ileaoüiers,* as yet unexplored. Toward evening, the contrary wind, which was near driving our canoe upon the reefs of rocks, obliged us to cut short our day’s journey.

“On the morning of the 5th, when we awoke, we found ourselves covered with snow, and the edges of the water frozen. It was with great difficulty that we embarked with all the clothing and provisions, being obliged to enter the water with our bare feet, in order to keep the canoe afloat, otherwise it would have been broken. Having passed a great number of islands toward the north, we were detained six days by the bad weather; the snow and frost menacing us with ice, my companions had recourse to St. Anne, to whom we recommended our voyage, praying her, with St. Francis Xavier, to take

* Illinois or Michigan. The Indian name was Machihiganing.

us under their protection. On the 11th we embarked, notwithstanding the contrary wind; we crossed to another island and from thence to the main land, where we found two Frenchmen with several savages. We learned from them the great dangers to which we were about to expose ourselves, in consequence of the storms so frequent on this lake, and the ice which would very soon begin to float; but all this was insufficient to destroy the confidence we had placed in our protectors. We launched our canoe into the water after having invoked their aid, and soon had the good fortune to double in safety the cape which turns off to the west, having left behind us a great island called Michillimakinak, celebrated among the savages.

“Having continued our navigation until the 25th through continued dangers, God delivered us from our troubles by bringing us to the cabin of some Pouteouatamis, who were engaged in fishing and hunting on the borders of the forest, They regaled us with everything they had, but chiefly with beech-nuts, which are a fruit of the beech tree; these they roast and pound into flour. I had leisure to

instruct them, and to confer baptism on two small sick children.”

“On the 27th, while we were endeavoring to make all the headway that was possible, we were discovered by four cabins of savages, called Oumalouminek* who urged us to disembark; as they were closely pressed by hunger, and we at the end of our provisions, we could not remain very long together.

“On the 29th we were greatly troubled at finding the mouth of the river that we wished to enter, closed with ice, and we expected to have to make the rest of the journey by land. But an impetuous wind springing up during the night, enabled us, by breaking up the ice, to continue our navigation, which came to a close on the 2d of December, the eve of the day of St. Francis Xavier, by our arrival at the place where the Frenchmen were.”

As soon as the party landed they returned thanks to St. Francis for the success he had procured for them during their voyage, and prayed him to take the mission they were about to commence under his

* Menominees. Also Maloumines, Maroumines, Folles Avoines, or Wild Rice Indians.

protection. On the following day holy mass was celebrated, at the same place, consecrating the forests and its inhabitants to the purposes of a Christian king. In this service the reverend priest was assisted by eight Frenchmen, six of whom he found trading among the Indians.

“The savages having taken up their winter quarters,” Allouez continues, “I found here only one village, comprising several nations, Ousaki,* Pouteouatamis, Outagami,† Ouenibigoutz,‡ containing about six hundred souls; eight leagues from this, on the other side of the bay, is another village containing about three hundred souls. All these nations have their fields of Indian corn, gourds, beans and tobacco.” But he complains that the savages were more than commonly barbarous, not knowing how to make even a bark dish, nor a pot, most often making use of shells, and that they had only “what was merely necessary.”

* Sacs or Sauks.

† The name Outagami is Algonquin for a fox. Hence the French called the tribe Renards, and the Americans, Foxes. They called themselves Musquawkies, which is said to mean “red earth” and to be derived from the color of the soil near one of their villages.

‡ Winnebagoes.

The season was not advantageous, there being great scarcity, therefore Allouez and his party could obtain but little assistance; they had much trouble for their maintenance and often endured hunger;—"scarcely have we found shelter; all our nourishment has been only Indian corn and acorns; the little of fish, which is only rarely seen, is very bad; the water of this bay and its rivers is similar to that which stagnates in ditches."

The place where Allouez landed, and the first religious service of La Baye was held, is not certainly known, but vague Indian tradition locates it on the east side of the Fox River, upon a rather bold point of land, about twenty rods north of the present site of the power-house of the street railway, where the shore in early days curved outward in undulating lines of changing sandy beach. For many rods inland and along the river shore there was not a tree nor shrub. Toward the northeast the land lay low and marshy covered with a ragged growth of tamarack and cedar, and there a broad and shallow slough discharged itself into the river; south on the higher ground were col-

lected the wigwams of the mixed Indian village.*

With the arrival of Allouez, there came a new influence to control for a period, the development of the country, and for the first time there was seen on the shores of the river, the black-robed figure which was thenceforth to go up and down the land, becoming part of the web and woof of the history of Wisconsin. Father Allouez remained at this motley Indian village during the winter, gaining the good will of the savages by announcing the peace which their Father, the French Governor, had made for them with the Iroquois, and instructing them in the mysteries of the church. He had translated the Lord's Prayer and Hail Mary into a language which they understood, and on Sundays a service of prayer and instruction was held for those who were inclined to accept the faith. Allouez began his

*Investigations are now on foot to ascertain definitely the exact spot where Allouez landed and first established his mission, it being contended that it was on the north shore of the Menominee River, or perhaps one of the small streams emptying into the bay from the west. Until this is proved, however, we hold to the previously-accepted interpretation of the Relations, that the mixed Indian village was on the river at the head of the bay.

teachings among the Sacs, and in February went to a village of the Pottawattamies on the east shore of the bay, supposed by some antiquarians to have been situated at Red Banks.* He was cordially received by this tribe and heard with attention; when about to take his departure he was urged to remain, or if that was impossible to send another priest to dwell among them. On the 23d, Allouez writes: "We took the road to return, but the wind, that froze our faces, and the snow obliged us, after going two leagues, to stop and pass the night on the ice. The next day the severity of the weather being a little diminished, we continued our route, with much inconvenience; for my portion of it I had the nose frozen, and a faintness which obliged me to seat myself on the ice, where I should have remained, my companions having gained the advance, if, by Divine Providence, I had not found in my handkerchief a clove, which gave me strength enough to reach the cabins."

The winter proved too short for instruc-

*This tribe, whose traditions, as first recorded by Father De Smet (Oregon Missions, p 343), gave Longfellow the matter of his *Hiawatha*.—J. G. Shea, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. III., p. 136.

tion to be given in all the villages before the first thaws of March scattered the tribes to their spring hunting grounds. The five months of labor resulted only in the conversion of one young man, who was baptised while in a dying condition, and the baptism of a number of sick children, but over even this meagre showing Allouez rejoiced.

The ice did not break up until the 12th of April. "The sixteenth," Allouez says, "I embarked to go and commence the mission of the Outagamis, a people well known in these parts. We passed the night at the head of the bay (*nous fumes coucher au bout de l'anse*), at the entrance of the River of the Puans, which we have named St. Francis. In passing we saw clouds of swans, bustards and ducks, the savages take them in nets at the head of the bay, where they catch as many as fifty in a night; this game in the autumn seek the wild rice that the wind has shaken off in the month of September. On the 17th, we went up the River St. Francis, two and sometimes three arpens wide. After having advanced four leagues, we found the village of the

savages named the Saki,* who began a work that merits well here to have its place. From one side of the river to the other, they made a barricade, planting great stakes two fathoms from the water, in such a manner that there is, as it were, a bridge above, for the fishers, who, by the aid of a little bow net, easily take sturgeons and all other kinds of fish which this pier stops, although the water does not cease to flow between the stakes; they call this device Mitchigan; they make use of it in the spring and a part of the summer."

He passed on up the river and through Lake Winnebago to the Foxes on the Wolf River, where he established the mission of St. Mark. After visiting the Mascoutins, Miamis, and other tribes in the neighborhood, he commenced his return voyage. He writes: "Time pressed us; I took my way towards the place whence I had set out, where I happily arrived, by the River St. Francis, in three days." In making the passage of the rapids of Kakaling his canoe was broken up on the

*Situatd at De Pere. The estimates of distances made by the Fathers are often very inaccurate, of which this is an example.

rocks and the contents injured by water. On the 6th of May he visited the Oumataouminck,* "distant," as he says, "about eight leagues from our cabin, I found them in small numbers on their river, the young men being still in the woods. This nation has been almost exterminated by war." He continued his voyage, visiting the tribes along the bay shore, and "on the 20th embarked with a Frenchman and a savage to go to Saint Mary on the Sault, where duty calls me, leaving all these people in the hope that we will return next Autumn, as I had promised them." Such was the first announcement of Christianity in the heart of Wisconsin. The teachings of the church had been successfully begun, though so far there were few converts.

While this solitary representative of the great order of Loyola was slowly gaining an uncertain foothold in the region of the Puants, other adventurers were establishing themselves in the vicinity. As early as 1660 the *coureurs de bois* formed a distinct class under the dashing Du Lhut,†

*Menominees.

† Parkman's *Old Régime*, p. 310.

and following in the wake of Radisson and Groseilleirs, sought to reap the advantages of the lucrative traffic in furs growing up in the west. Up to 1669 the One-Hundred Associates sought to monopolize this trade, and stringent laws were made to control it, which forbade all barter with the Indians outside the town of Quebec, on pain of flogging for the first offense, and for the second imprisonment for life. Despite this, the illegal traffic, at which the governors of New France are said to have connived,* grew to such proportions that the Intendant Du Chesneau reported that eight hundred men, out of a population of ten thousand, had vanished from sight into the wilderness. In 1680 he writes, "there is not a family of any condition or quality whatever, that has not children, brothers, uncles and nephews among the *coureurs de bois*."

Before the arrival of Allouez these men had become established along the Fox and Wolf Rivers, and that tongue of land formed by the Fox and its small tributary East River, called Manitou by the Indians

* Turner's Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin, p. 66.

and later known as *Riviere du Diable* to the French, was a popular rendezvous and camping ground for them. There during the summer they idled away their time in unbridled pleasure, but when the season arrived at which the thick soft fur of the beaver was in its finest condition, and the ice on the rivers and marshes strong enough to allow approach to the home of the canny little animal, they followed the savages to their winter hunting grounds, enduring hardship and fatigue with the indifference of natives, that they might secure from the hunters the pelts which were taken. This was accomplished by threatening and cajoling the Indians, and tempting them with articles chosen especially to please their savage fancy—copper kettles, hatchets of a form almost unknown at this day, scalping knives, ivory combs, vermilion to beautify the chiefs, necklaces, bracelets, little bells, tin looking glasses, and an occasional gun, clumsily made, yet the most coveted of all because of the ascendancy it gave its possessor in chase or war. At the approach of spring the canoes of the *voyageurs* were freshly smeared with pitch, and when navigation

opened they made the long journey to Montreal, disposed of their peltries to merchants who cared little how they were obtained, and after a brief season of wild carousal were off again to the woods to meet their savage associates.

Of the eight Frenchmen gathered on the river bank for the religious service held by Father Allouez, it is reasonable to suppose that one was Nicholas Perrot, a man more widely known and of greater influence than any of the early *voyageurs*. One cannot read many pages of the old French annals of the latter part of the seventeenth century without encountering Perrot's name, and the record of some service rendered by him to France during those eventful years. Born in 1644 of poor and obscure parents, his first years were those of privation, though he had the advantage of some schooling, and was, in that he could read and write, in advance of the ordinary *voyageurs*. His studies were, however, early interrupted, that he might enter the service of the Jesuits, who employed young men and boys, to go to their mission stations, till the soil, hunt, fish and perform the labors for which the priests were

unfitted; they were called *donnés*, or given men, when they gave their services gratuitously, or *engagés* when paid a small salary. Among this number Perrot was enrolled* and thus a taste was developed for the free out door life of the wood ranger, in which, in after time, he became famous.

When only seventeen years of age he began his travels in the west, but it was not until 1665, that he came to this region as an independent *coureur de bois*.† From that time until his recall, thirty-five years later, his influence was invaluable to the government, in uniting the western tribes against the Iroquois, thus preventing the English from interfering with the rich fur trade of the interior. Shortly after his arrival at the Baye des Puants, he was fortunate in arranging a peace between the Menominees and the Pottawattamies, who were on the eve of war.‡ Thenceforth his influence with the tribes was unbounded, and swayed though they might be by the varying treatment received at the hands

*Tailhan's Perrot.

† Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. VIII., p. 203.

‡ Tailhan's Perrot.

of the French, they retained to the end an undiminished confidence in Perrot.

In the spring of 1670, about the time of the departure of Allouez, Perrot embarked from La Baye, in charge of a fur fleet of thirty canoes, bound for Canada, each bearing from thirty to forty packets of choice furs—the soft, fine skin of the beaver and black otter, rarely found in eastern streams, martin, mink, racoon, bear, lynx, and other varieties, placed under canvas or oil-skin covers for protection in stormy weather. The graceful canoes of birch bark, shaped like Venetian gondolas, ribbed with cedar, and gummed at the seams with pitch of the yellow pine, propelled swiftly by the cleverly manipulated paddles, floated in the clear May sunshine past the low shores, clothed in the pale green of early spring, out on the bright waters of the lake. Keen watch was kept, for there was always possibility of encounter with the dreaded Iroquois, but the voyage was accomplished in safety, the fleet gaining in numbers as it passed through the lake region, until nine hundred savages, under guidance of five Frenchmen, swept, in the peltry-laden canoes, down the Ottawa to Montreal. The

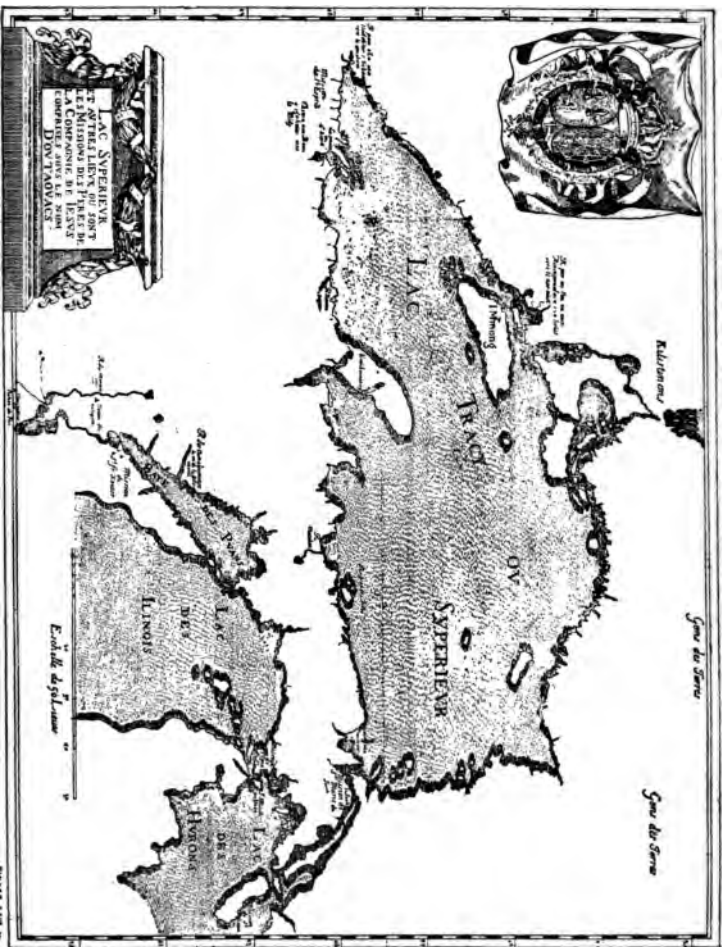
day following their arrival was spent in putting up rough lodges, and arranging a camp near the river shore, while the second was given to a council with the French, held at the fort, where they smoked the pipe of peace, and planned future traffic. The third and fourth days of their stay were occupied in bartering furs for kettles, knives, cloth, beads, iron arrow heads, coats, shirts, and other commodities; by daybreak on the morning of the sixth, all had vanished like a flock of migratory birds, save Perrot, who remained in Montreal.*

During the following fall Père Allouez returned to the Mission of St. Francis Xavier, reaching there on the 6th of September, 1670, accompanied by the Superior, Père Dablon. They found serious trouble in the village at the head of the bay, but this time it was the exasperated traders who appealed to the Fathers to arbitrate in their behalf, complaining that the savages took advantage of their small number to plunder their goods and otherwise maltreat them. While in Montreal

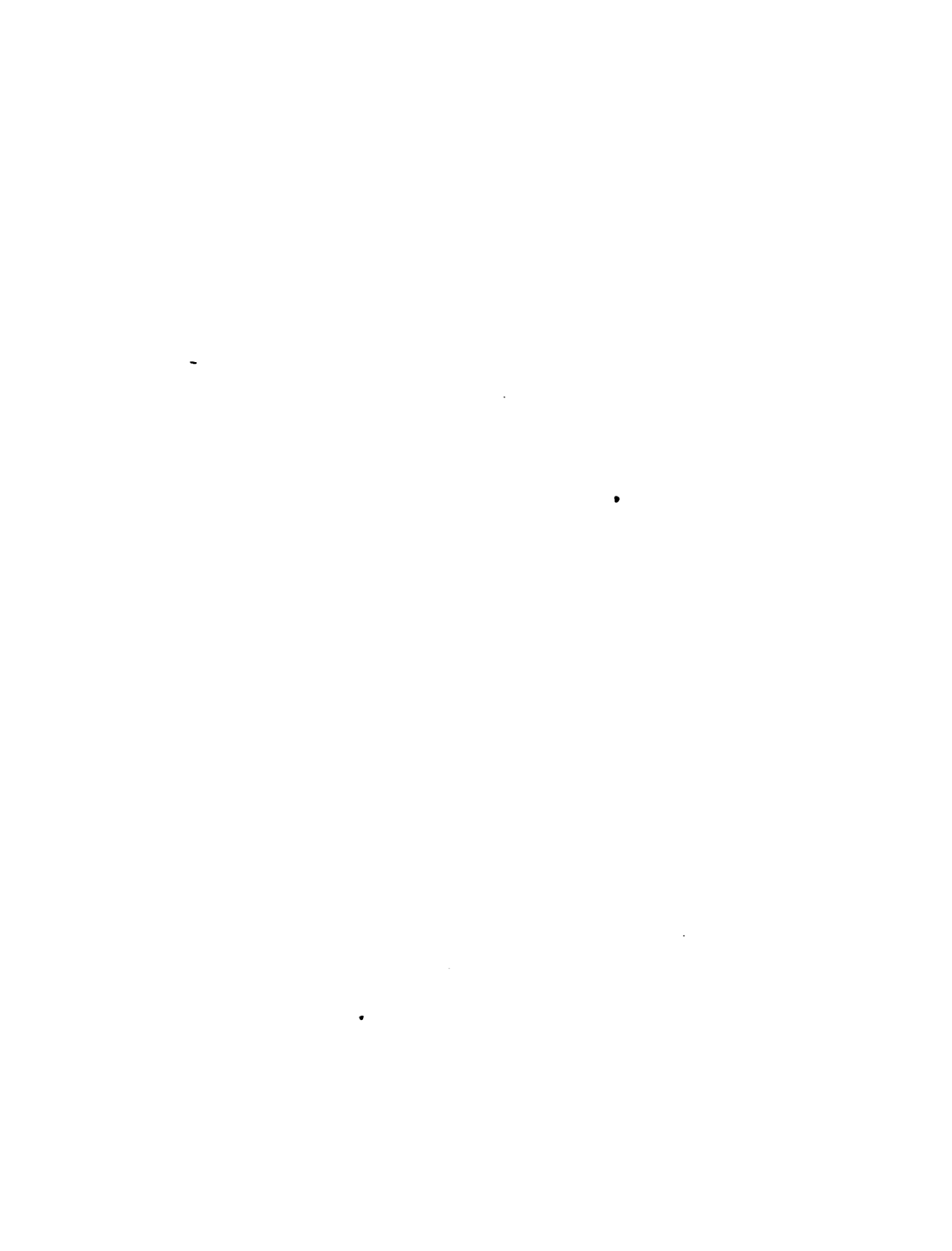
*Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 47.

during the spring, the Indians fancied they had been ill-treated by some of the soldiers of the garrison, for which they sought revenge on the *coureurs de bois* residing among them. To succeed more effectually in their designs they, in imitation of the French, had formed a military guard of forty young men, under command of a captain.

The priests held a council with the congregated tribes, and reprimanded them severely for their misdemeanors, telling the older chiefs that they, being wiser than the others, would be held accountable for the evil, which they must remedy, or incur the displeasure of the governor. As they discoursed to their naked auditors, Père Dablon says their gravity was greatly put to the proof, for a guard of three native warriors, anxious to do them honor, marched up and down before the door of the lodge, aping the movements of the soldiers they had seen on guard before the governor's tent in Montreal. "We were almost overcome with laughter," he writes, "although we treated of solemn matters, the mysteries of our religion and the necessity of belief if they would escape from everlasting fire."



MAP MADE BY THE JESUITS, 1671.—FROM ARCHIVES AT PARIS.



After remaining a few days at the mission, the Fathers continued on up the river, and Père Dablon's journal of this voyage is the most valuable writing extant upon the topography of the country. Of the valley of the Fox he writes:* "It has something of the beauty of a terrestrial paradise, but the road that leads to it is, also, in some manner like that which the Lord represents as the one to Heaven, for scarcely do we advance one day's journey up the river when we find three or four leagues of rapids to contend with, more difficult than those which are commonly in other rivers, in that the flints over which we must walk with our naked feet, to drag the canoe, are so sharp and so cutting that one has all the trouble in the world to hold oneself steady against the great rushing of the waters." At the Kakalin rapids they found an Indian idol, formed, "naturally, in the shape of a man's bust," and painted in brilliant colors. Under the priests' direction the *engages* lifted this up and cast it into the "depths of the river to appear no more,"

* Relations, 1670-71, pp. 41-50.

where it probably lies yet, although another soon after occupied its place.

“After one has passed these rough and dangerous ways,” continues Dablon, “as a recompense for the difficulties overcome, one enters into the most beautiful country that ever was seen ; prairies on all sides, as far as the eye can reach, divided by a river, which gently winds through them, and on which to float is perfect rest. Vines, plums, and apple trees are found in passing along, and seem to invite the traveler to disembark and taste their fruits, which are very sweet and in great quantities. All the borders of this river, which flows tranquilly in the midst of these prairies, are covered with certain herbs, which bear what is here called the ‘wild oats,’ of which the birds are wonderfully fond ; the quantity of all sorts of game, also, is so great everywhere about here, that, without much stopping, we killed it at discretion.’

After this journey Père Dablon returned to Mackinac, and then went down to Quebec. Father Henri Nouvel was sent to take his place, while Louis André was ordered to the assistance of Allouez at La Baye. Allouez and André remained at

the mission of St. Francis during the winter of 1670-71, and a small bark chapel and cabin were built at what was shortly after known as the Rapides des Pères. It was situated on the east bank of the river, about six miles from its mouth, and is described by an old settler of the country, who saw the foundations of the first church, which was built soon after on the same site, as being a little above the dam, and near the bank of the river.*

Dablon writing in 1671-72, of the missions lately established, speaks of "that of St. Francis Xavier, placed altogether, newly on the river which discharges itself into the Baye of the Puants, two leagues from its mouth." He describes the spot as being "a prairie about four or five arpents wide, terminated at each side by a wood of lofty trees; and besides, grapes, plums, apples and other fruits, which would be pretty good there, if the savages had the patience to let them ripen, there is also found in the prairies a species of lemon which has an affinity to those of France, but which has nothing of bitterness, not even in their rind; the

* Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. XI., p. 389.

plant which bears them partakes of the fern.* The bear and the wild cat, which is as large as a dog of the middling height, fill the country, and as the woods there are very clear, we see large prairies in the forests, which render this resting place agreeable. It is to these kinds of animals as well as the stag, that the chase is easily made; as well in the woods, which are not thick, as on the river, into which he often throws himself and where one may take him without trouble.

To all the advantages of this place, we may add, that it is the only and the great passage of the circumjacent nations who have a continual commerce among themselves, either in visiting or in traffic, and it is this which has caused us to cast our eyes on this spot, to erect here our chapel, as in the centre of more than ten different nations, who can furnish us with more than fifteen thousand souls to be instructed in the truths of Christianity. It is here the Father Claude Allouez and the Father Louis André have stopped to work for the salvation of all these people; the one

*Mandrake.

applying himself to the nations who are more removed in the woods, and the other to those who are on the borders of the Lake of the Puans." Dablon also speaks of the fish weir at the Rapides des Peres, and of the Indians catching large quantities of duck, wild fowl and fish in the nets described by Father Allouez, and adds: "These two kinds of fishing draw to this place great numbers of savages from all parts."

In the fall of the year 1671, there was erected at Sault St. Marie, the first church built in the west, and the savages at La Baye "murmured jealously" at this preference shown the Indians of the Sault. Just three days before Christmas, 1672, Father André's little cabin was burned, and he lost his desk, all of his papers and many valuable articles. A temporary house and chapel were erected for him, by piling straw to the height of a man and roofing it with mats. Soon after, to appease the Indians, a new and large church was commenced on the site of the burned chapel, which was not, however, completed until near the close of 1673. It is spoken of by the Fathers as giving

great satisfaction to them and to the savages, who were attracted to it from a great distance. The Indians apostrophized the building in their councils, and when passing threw tobacco about it, this being a form of worship they rendered their divinities. Within the palisaded enclosure of the mission were also erected dwellings, workshops and storehouses, for the traders made the station a rendezvous, and stored their furs there awaiting shipment to Montreal.

Fathers Allouez and André labored at La Baye, with varying success for seven years. They found that the Indian mind was not a blank as it is sometimes represented, but was a page upon which there was much to be erased, as well as written, for it was filled with prejudices and superstitions, to which they were firmly attached. The Sacs worshiped a deity called Missipisse, supposed to bring success in fishing; while other tribes also had their deities, and the sin of polygamy was everywhere deeply rooted.

André went from village to village, along the bay shore, praying with the women and girls in huts, close with the odor of

drying fish, and so crowded that he could scarcely find place to put himself on his knees. For some years he struggled against the prejudices of the men, making little headway, until he resolved on attacking them through their children. He taught the little ones spiritual songs, which he set to gay little French airs, and accompanied with his flute. Thus he went up and down the bay shore with his savage choir, "making war against the jugglers, the dreamers, and those who had many wives, and, because the Indians passionately loved their children and would suffer everything from them, they allowed the reproaches, though biting, which were made to them by these songs."

It was a hard life and a difficult field for these faithful servants of the Cross, but no complaint was uttered, even when during a temporary absence their cabin was set on fire by their enemies, and all their winter supply of food consumed. Small results were to be seen for all the self-sacrificing labor; many of the savages were willing, some even anxious, to be baptized, but the fathers hesitated to confer the sacred rite until the constancy of the candidate was

56 The Jesuits and Coureurs de Bois.

tested, and refused it to those who would not abandon the vice of polygamy.*

The priests of Loyola had planted the seed, and watered it with their tears and their blood: the fruit, if any, was for others to gather.

*Shea's Catholic Church in Colonial Days, p. 639.



CHAPTER III.

Fort St. Francis and the Fox War.

Jean Talon, intendant of New France in the year 1671, was a man of distinguished ability, far-seeing, far-reaching, and patriotic, bent on extending the commercial interests of the French. His plan of gaining possession of New York for this purpose, either by treaty or conquest,* was a brilliant and apparently feasible one, but in the end came to naught through indifference or lack of understanding at court, and Talon was obliged to content himself in developing the interests near at hand, and occupying and controlling, as far as he could, the interior of the country. For the latter purpose he sent Daumont St. Lussou, in 1670, to search for copper on Lake Superior, and at the same time take formal possession of the Northwest. Nicholas Perrot, who was then in Canada, was selected to accompany him as interpreter and envoy; "no one," writes Charle-

*Lettre de Talon á Colon, Oct. 27, 1667.

voix, "being better adapted for this important duty."

In the fall the expedition left Quebec, Perrot going with it as far as Manitoulin Islands, where he left St. Luson and pushed on to La Baye des Puants to extend an invitation to the tribes of that vicinity to meet the deputy of the French king at Sault Ste. Marie in the following spring. The clamor of welcome which greeted Perrot on his return to La Baye, after an absence of only six months, was evidence of the affection in which he was held by the Indians. The Miamis gave a sham battle in his honor, which it is said required some nerve in a foreigner to witness undisturbed; he was also entertained with a grand exhibition of *la crosse*, the Indian's national game of ball.*

Perrot spent the winter at La Baye, and his success with the Indians was manifest in the spring, when he passed down the River St. Francis, with a large fleet of canoes, carrying representatives of the different tribes, eager to surrender their land to the French, that they might

*La Potherie, also Parkman's *Discovery of the Great West*, p. 39.

secure the advantages of trade. The wary Foxes went only as far as the river's mouth and from there turned back into their own country. They were governed in this move by sober second thought and an undiminished hatred of the French, which, however, did not include Perrot, who, as long as he lived, held their devoted affection. As it paddled eastward, the party was increased in numbers by delegations from the Menominees, Pottawattamies and other tribes dwelling on the shores and islands of the bay, and arrived at Mackinac on the fifth of May. On the fourteenth of June, St. Lussou, with imposing ceremonies, took possession of the land, "bounded on one side by the seas of the north and of the west and on the other by the South Sea," in the name of the "Most High, Mighty and Redoubted Monarch, Louis, Fourteenth of that name, Most Christian King of France and Navarre." His witnesses were the Jesuits Dablon, Allouez, André, and Dreuilletes, Perrot as interpreter, Joliet and a number of other *coureurs de bois*.

Perrot and Joliet returned with St. Lussou to Quebec, where they remained dur-

ing the change which soon took place in the government. The intendant, Talon, and Courcelles, the governor, returned to France, each having asked for his recall because of differences that had arisen between them. Count de Frontenac, the newly appointed governor, whom the inhabitants were soon to wish back in his own country, arrived in the early autumn of 1672.

Frontenac was as ambitious to extend the boundaries of New France as any of his predecessors had been, and also desirous that the discovery of the "great river"—known to the Indians as the Missipissi—should be made under his direction. For this purpose, as soon as navigation opened, he sent into the west, Joliet, who had been recommended to him by Talon. At St. Ignace, Joliet was joined by the Jesuit Jacques Marquette, who had been laboring for two years previous among the Huron refugees from St. Esprit, and a band of Ottawas who had joined them.

Marquette was born in France in 1637, and became a Jesuit at about the age of seventeen; at twenty-eight he was sent to the mission of Canada. His talent as a

linguist must have been great, for within a few years he learned to speak with ease six Indian languages, Illinois being his last acquisition. He was of a deeply religious nature and a devout votary of the Virgin Mary, for whom he "burned to dare and to suffer, discover new lands and conquer new realms to her sway." Joliet, to whom should belong the honor of discoveries made during the voyage, was a merchant, intelligent, well educated, courageous, hardy and enterprising, but without any distinctive trait of character or any especial breadth of view or boldness of design.

Marquette begins the journal of their voyage thus: "The day of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, whom I continually invoked, since I came to this country of the Ottawas to obtain from God the favor of being enabled to visit the nations of the river Missipissi. This very day was precisely that on which M. Joliet arrived with orders from Count Frontenac, our Governor, and M. Talon, our Intendant, to go with me on this discovery. I was all the more delighted at this good news, because I saw my plans about to be accomplished and found my-

self in the happy necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of all these tribes, and especially of the Illinois, who, when I was at Point St. Esprit, had begged me very earnestly to bring the Word of God among them."

The outfit of the travelers was very simple. They provided themselves with two birch bark canoes; a supply of smoked meat and Indian corn, and embarked with five men on the seventeenth of May to begin their journey, which Marquette writes he had placed under the protection of the Holy Virgin Immaculate, promising, that if she granted them the favor of discovering the great river, he would give it the name of Conception.

They made the paddles ply merrily through the water as the two canoes sped towards the Baye des Puants, for it was the holiday time of the year; along the shore maple and birch were bursting into leaf and all the world smiled with promise of coming summer. Minute observations were made of the country through which they passed and noted in the journal kept by Marquette. The bay he calls the Fetid, or Salt, and supposes it to have been so

named from salt springs that might lie along its shore, but having searched and found none, he says: "We conclude that the name came from the mud and slime to be found there, constantly exhaling noisome vapors which cause the loudest, longest peals of thunder I ever heard."

To the problem that perplexed all early travelers, and which has not yet been satisfactorily solved, that of a regular tide plainly perceptible along the bay and river shore, Marquette gave interested attention, attributing it to lunar influence, although he adds: "I cannot deny that this movement may be caused by distant winds, which pressing on the centre of the lakes, makes the water rise and fall along the shore in the way it meets our eyes." Charlevoix, a distinguished French historian, writing on this subject fifty years later, supposes the phenomenon to be caused by subterranean springs at the bottom of the lakes, whose currents meet those of numerous rivers which flow into them and produce the movement noted.

The travelers passed up the Fox River on their way to the Mississippi, undeterred by the stories of the Indians, who warned

them of the peril of their undertaking. By the end of September, they were again back at the Rapides des Peres, after an absence of six months, during which time they had paddled their canoes somewhat more than two thousand miles. Marquette, broken in health and worn with the hard journey, yet happy in having planted the cross among the Illinois, was unable to travel farther, but Joliet went on to Quebec to tell of the good service done in tracing the Mississippi's course as far as the Arkansas, and opening a way for the establishment of French military and trading posts. After successfully escaping all the dangers of the long and perilous voyage, he was abandoned by fortune on the very threshold of home, losing all his papers by the overturning of his canoe at La Chine Rapids. "Nothing remains to me but my life," he wrote to Frontenac, "and the ardent desire to employ it on any service which you may please to direct."

Marquette remained at the mission-house of St. Francis, taking the rest that was a necessity and enjoying probably more of comfort and repose than had been possible during his many years of mission

work. Here, through the short winter days, when the river lay locked in ice, and drifting snow swirled around the lonely cabin, the young priest revised the desultory record kept from day to day while on his journey, and drew the map which accompanies all printed editions of his journal. In the smoky half-twilight of the windowless lodge, brightened fitfully by blazing pine logs, he made a carefully-written copy of the journal at the request of his Superior, which he forwarded to Quebec.

In October, 1674, he had so far recovered from his malady that on the twenty-fifth of the month he bade farewell to his brothers at St. Francis and started on his journey to revisit the Illinois, and to establish in their principal town, a mission for which he had already selected the name of Immaculate Conception. His term of work, however, was almost over, his illness returned and after a few months spent in the labor he loved, he turned his face northward hoping to end his life among friends at Michillimackinac, but death was nearer than he thought. On the bank of a small river that flows into Lake Michigan from the east, his two boat-

men erected a rude shelter of bark and there, "with a peacefulness that might be called a pleasant sleep," Marquette calmly passed away.

Some time during the last of October, 1676, Père Allouez, with the necessary number of *engagés*, left La Baye to continue the work begun by Marquette among the Illinois tribes. Before they had paddled many leagues down the bay, ice formed and closed navigation; but, undeterred by this obstacle, the resolute Father raised a sail in their light canoe, thus improvising an ice-boat, the first to skim over the frozen surface of the bay. At Sturgeon Cove, as it was called, they crossed the difficult portage of a mile and an eighth, through tangled woods, to Lake Michigan, and made what haste they could to the Illinois country. There Father Allouez, who was the founder of Catholicity in the West, labored until he passed to his reward in August, 1689, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, having been for twenty years on the missions of Lakes Superior and Michigan.

Allouez' departure from St. Francis Xavier left Père André alone, but soon

after Fathers Silvey and Abanel were sent to his assistance. From this time on, little is known of the work of the missionaries in this field, for the reports, if any were sent, are yet buried in the archives of France. The names of those who were here are familiar through occasional mention—the aged Father Henri Nouvel, for more than forty years a laborer in the west, Fathers Enjalran, Silvey, Chardon and others, but of their special work, other than that it was faithfully rendered and generally successful, we know nothing.

During the years which had passed, the traders had congregated more and more at La Baye, numbering amongst them names since famous in history and romantic legend. There, in the autumn of 1680, came the gay Du Lhut and his gossip companion, the Recollect Friar, Hennepin, whom the *coureur de bois* had rescued from the Sioux of the Upper Mississippi in a pitiable condition and taken under his powerful protection. For two years and a half Du Lhut and his followers had been in exile waiting for the edicts against them to expire, and during that time had become as expert as Indians in

tracing a path through the dense forest solitudes and along strange waterways. At night they were guided by the stars, and during the day the moss on the trees and the prairie plants, when the sun was hidden, showed them the points of the compass. When Father Hennepin met this band of outlaws he describes them as equipped half for war and half for trade, and when he enquired of their leader the day of the week, Du Lhut frankly acknowledged that he had ceased to reckon time. The garrulous priest relates how he and his protector paddled in company through the rocky gorges of the Wisconsin and then along the winding channel of the Fox River, where, after six hours' travel, the starting point was still in sight.

When the Rapides des Pères were reached they were cordially welcomed by the priests at the mission, where they rested for several days, Du Lhut finding congenial company in the Canadians trafficking illegally with the Indians at the rapids, and Hennepin consolation in celebrating mass. The father tells, in his journal, of the difficulties he overcame to accomplish this religious service, and, with

characteristic egotism, writes as though he were the only priest in the wilds of the western forests, intentionally, it would seem, ignoring the Jesuits, whose guest he was.

Two days after the departure of this party another arrived; Henri de Tonti, lieutenant to La Salle and cousin of Du Lhut, fleeing before the wrath of the Iroquois from Fort Crèvecoeur, on the Illinois, reached the rapids accompanied by Father Membré, on October second. The priest writes with enthusiasm of their reception and entertainment at the mission, where they remained during the winter. La Salle followed them later and was at La Baye for a time trading with the Indians.* In 1683 the adventurous traveler La Sueur paid a short visit to the mission while on his way to the west over the familiar Fox-Wisconsin route.

In the spring of 1681 amnesty was declared toward the *coureurs de bois*. The French authorities, finding it impossible to keep the traders from the woods, agreed that annual licenses should be

*Bancroft's Hist. U. S., Vol. II., p. 337.

Charlevoix' Hist. de la Nouvelle France, Vol. II., p. 277, "pourelui (La Salle) il alla passer une partie de l'hyver a la Baye and n' arriva a' Quebec qu' au printems de l' aunée suivante 1683."

granted to twenty-five canoes bearing three men each, but many more than the prescribed number were obtained—"God knows how," writes the irreverent Baron La Hontan. This lively young officer and reckless story-teller visited La Baye in 1684. He patronizingly speaks of the Fox as a "little river, quite long;" and in the book published on his return to France the hospitality of Green Bay, which afterwards became famous, is first mentioned. A marvelous banquet was served by the Indians in the baron's honor, at which the guests were seated in oriental fashion on the green sward, under the lofty trees. Successively they partook of whitefish boiled in water, cutlets of the tongue of buck, followed by hazel hen—a fowl fattened on nuts—a bear's paw, and, greatest delicacy of all, the tail of a bear. Then came a bouillon prepared from a variety of meats, the whole washed down by what the baron calls a most delicious liquor, made of maple sugar, beaten up with water.

This same year (1684), Nicholas Perrot, traveling the well-known route between Montreal and the Baye des Puants, met at Michillimackinac, Du Lhut, who was re-

turning from an unsuccessful attempt to ally the western Indians with the French forces in a projected campaign against the Iroquois. Du Lhut urged Perrot to try his influence with the obdurate savages, and nothing loath, he consented. On the following Sunday, after hearing mass in the mission church, Perrot set forth alone on this difficult task, bearing the tomahawk, symbol of war, and the presents which in Du Lhut's hands had been rejected.

From village to village he passed, calling on Menominees, Sacs, Puants, and Outagamies to make war with the French against their common enemy. They listened to him as they would have done to no other Frenchman, and at the appointed time M. Durantaye, commandant at Mackinac, found himself at the head of five hundred warriors, among whom were the perverse and arrogant Foxes. It had required all Perrot's diplomacy to induce these last to join the expedition, and more than once during the journey they turned back, daunted by fancied omens of evil; but Perrot urged them on, overcoming their superstitions by pretended scorn of their cowardice. The campaign came to noth-

ing, a peace having been patched up by the French before the arrival of the allies at the rendezvous. The French, with their frequently-mistaken policy in dealing with the savages, furnished the meagre gift of eleven pounds of tobacco, valued at eight francs a pound, as compensation for their services, with which it taxed all Perrot's diplomacy to content his savage confederates.

About this time the Sieur de la Salle, claiming La Baye as within his grant of Louisiana, issued an order forbidding all traders not bearing a commission from him, to go by way of the Fox River, and giving the Indians permission to pillage or even murder all who should attempt it. "If the king has given to M. de la Salle alone this country, have the goodness to let me know and I will conform myself to the orders of his majesty," writes Denonville in wrath, to the French government. It was a dangerous power to place in savage hands, and fierce and bloody quarrels almost immediately ensued between the Indians and the *coureurs de bois*.

In the spring of 1685, Perrot was

sent to La Baye to placate these unruly factions, having been appointed chief in command by De la Barre, who had recently succeeded Frontenac as governor of New France. "I was sent to La Baye," he writes, "with a commission to command there, and in the most distant countries of the west, also in all that I might discover." The confidence felt by the government in Perrot's power and ability to control the Indians, is nowhere better shown than in this commission, which appointed him, with only a small detachment of twenty men, to hold in check thousands of blood-thirsty savages licensed to commit pillage and even murder. Perrot found at St. Francis, Father John Enjalran, the only priest west of Lake Michigan. The bark-covered lodge of the mission station became his headquarters, and there he stored the furs which he secured from the natives. The chiefs of the various tribes were as anxious to propitiate this solitary representative of greatness as though he were the great Ononthio* himself; they brought him rich gifts of the skins of bear and other

* Indian name for the governor of Canada.

animals, and smoked with him the pipe of peace around his council fire.

Scarcely was he well established in his post before he received an order to lead a second expedition against the Iroquois, who were again on the war path. There remains a rare and valuable relic of this



period of Perrot's government at La Baye, in the form of a hand-wrought silver soleil or ostensorium, made to contain the sacred wafer, and presented by him to the Mission of St. Francis Xavier.*

The two centuries that have elapsed, and the strange fortunes which have befallen the sacred memorial have not obliterated the inscription cut in rude letters around the base :

" Ce soleil a esté donné par M. Nicolas Perrot à la mission de St. Francis Xavier en la Baye des Puants, 1686."

*La Potherie.

In 1802 the soleil was plowed up at De Pere on the site of the ancient mission-house.* It had probably been buried in 1687 to preserve it at a time when the tribes were hostile and had been either forgotten by the priests in their hasty flight or they were unable afterwards to recover it. To-day it is placed among the most valued relics of the State Historical Society at Madison. In that year—1687—the Foxes, Kickapoos, and Mascoutins formed a conspiracy to pillage and burn the French establishment at La Baye, and thus provide themselves with guns and other munitions of war.† The new church, mis-



* Thwaites's *Story of Wisconsin*, p. 77.
† Hebbard's *Wisconsin under French Dominion*, p. 62.

sion-house and all the buildings of the establishment were burned and everything valuable either carried off or destroyed. There is no record of the church having been rebuilt, and the mission of St. Francis Xavier, from that time until its final abandonment, was a roving one.

Perrot was the chief individual sufferer in the fire, his loss in furs stored at the mission being valued at 40,000 livres,* a fortune in those days. With the usual generosity of the French government to those who labored in the west, Perrot was allowed to find reward for his services in trade, and this loss represented the accumulation of over two years which he had been prevented from sending to Montreal because of the Iroquois wars.

Three years later, on the ninth of May, 1689, Perrot, "commandant of the west," took formal possession, in the name of the king, of a wider domain than France had yet controlled. This included all the country drained by the Rivers St. Peter, and the upper Mississippi, and at convenient intervals he established strong stockaded posts for the purpose of trade. In 1690, after

* La Potherie, II.

the outbreak of King William's war, when not a French garrison remained between Three Rivers and Michillimackinac, Perrot, through his influence with the Indians, was able to prevent a general massacre of the French at that post and at La Baye. Even the English governor of New York, Cadwallader Colden, who is chary of praise to any Frenchman, accords this honor to Perrot, who, he says, with wonderful sagacity, and hazard to his own person, diverted the savages from their purpose.*

In 1699 the King issued an order which revoked all license to trade with the Indians, and recalled the traders and soldiers to Quebec. Thus Perrot was shut out from the employment of a lifetime. Broken by his hard life and adverse fortune, no longer able to conduct treaties nor lead to war his savage allies, he returned to his home in Canada, where he remained, neglected by the government he had so ably served, condemned to a life of inactivity and poverty. He was not forgotten, however, by the tribes among whom so many active years of his life had

*Colden's History of the Five Nations.

been passed; the chief of the Pottawattamies declared him to be the greatest of all the Frenchmen who had been among them,* and the Foxes complained bitterly at his removal. "We have no more sense since he has left us," they exclaimed while asking for his return,† but their entreaties were only met with vague promises, which came to naught and Perrot never again saw the fair river of the Outagamie, nor the grassy slopes of La Baye.

The war waged in Europe during the last years of the seventeenth century was disastrously felt on the North American continent. Several successful expeditions had been conducted by the French with their Indian allies against the northern colonies, by which they gained an increase of territory, but the weakness of their garrisons at Forts Frontenac and Mackinac enabled the English traders to penetrate as far as Lake Michigan and secure a large share of the commerce of the lakes. Personal enterprise took the direction of the western fur trade, and the business for a time declined; the church also be-

* La Potherie, Vol. IV., p. 213.

† Tailhan's Perrot, p. 267.

came seriously affected. At Michillimackinac in 1705, the fathers found themselves without a flock, and rather than have the church profaned they set fire to the building, abandoned the mission and returned to Quebec; for nearly twenty years the mission of St. Francis Xavier was the only one on the lakes.

The peace of Ryswick (1697) occasioned a suspension of hostilities; and France, through it regained all the places in America of which she was in possession at the beginning of the war. This was followed by the ratification of a peace with the Five Nations, by which England shared in the trade of the west, but France kept the mastery of the great lakes. To secure the rich Mississippi valley, the French established a post at the mouth of Fox River in the year 1721.*

This is the first authentic record of a garrisoned post at this point, but there is good reason to suppose that one was located here at a much earlier period; it might be even in 1671. In that year,

* Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, Vol. V., p. 432.

when Louis XIV., through his representative, raised the French standard over the northwest, and Green Bay became a part of the Province of New France, a fort was built at Mackinac, and the theory has been advanced by some historians that at the same time one was established at the head waters of La Baye Verte. There is only presumptive evidence in favor of this, yet it seems of sufficient importance to give it credence.

Lake Superior, for two years previous to 1671, had been prohibited to the French through Indian wars, and the missionaries were obliged to abandon the station at La Pointe. This closed one of the popular ways into the interior. A like trouble might easily cut off the French from the Fox-Wisconsin route, therefore it appears natural that the French, ever alive to the advantages of trade, should garrison this point, the entrance to the valley of the Mississippi. If a fort was established at this date it did not remain long, for it is said that when Tonti spent the winter of 1680 at the mission of St Francis he built a fort,

which was later commanded by Du Lhut.* This, however, there is reason to believe, was only the usual stockaded trading station for the protection of peltries and was probably located at the Rapides des Pères. Sometime later a fort was undoubtedly erected near the site afterward occupied by Fort Howard, but by whom it was built or at what date, is not known.

In 1721, when Charlevoix came to La Baye with the French commandant, M de Montigny, who with a detachment of soldiers, had been ordered to this point, they found a fort on the west bank of the river, half a league from its mouth. It contained quarters for officers and men, with a parade ground, the whole surrounded by a stockade of one or more rows of straight oak palisades. Just outside rose the bark wigwams of a Winnebago village, farther down on the same side of the river dwelt the Sacs, while not far off was a settlement of Foxes. Laboring among these tribes was Father Chardon, whose home was with the Winnebagoes.

It was near the close of a hot July day, that the boat bearing these distinguished

* American State Papers, Vol. IV., p. 851.

travelers was paddled up Fox River. Its approach was discovered by the Indians before it neared the landing-place and received with exhibitions of wild joy. Wading out into the stream until the water reached their waists, they presented the new commandant with a mantle made of fine deer skins, wrapped in which they bore him on their shoulders to his quarters, where, after the usual exchange of compliments, they left him for a short period of rest. On the next afternoon, on the level ground inside the fort, the Winnebagoes and the Sacs, one following the other, entertained the strangers with a dance, in which only the young warriors took part, rehearsing their deeds of prowess and valor. With faces painted in various colors, and heads adorned with nodding plumes, holding bunches of feathers which they waved aloft, "they presented an imposing appearance, especially the Winnebagoes, who were more agile and better formed than the Sauks." The Calumet, the great pipe of peace, also adorned in brilliant hues, occupied a conspicuous place, the savages circling about it.*

*Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, Vol. V., p. 437.

This introduction to Fort St. Francis, as it had been named, presents a pleasing picture with the little cantonment lying peaceful and bright under the slowly setting July sun. The Indians standing, squatting, or stretched at length on the ground, formed a circle about the cleared open place, the men on one side, the women on the other, the blankets secured from the traders giving brilliant touches of color. Monsieur Montigny, leaning against the door of his lodge, watched the dancing, while not far off were Fathers Chardon and Charlevoix, and opposite to them the soldiers of the garrison. All looked on with unabated interest as the young dancers, lithe and symmetrical, their naked bodies hardened and dark, glistening with oil of sunflower, recounted, in graphic pantomime, their famous deeds of war.

Isolated stood the small garrison, at the mercy of the savage hordes within its gates while the Sacs and treacherous Winnebagoes danced in apparent amity before the commandant. Yet even then a part of the Sac tribe was joined with the Foxes against the French, and the account of the Fox wars form one of

the saddest chapters of Wisconsin history, the story of which may be briefly told.

The Foxes from the first had looked with jealous dissatisfaction on the inroads of the French into the western country. Even while the Winnebagoes, Menominees, Pottawattamies and other tribes had welcomed the advantages of trade, they, with sullen discontent, had harrassed and pillaged the foreigners as opportunity occurred. In 1712 they had attempted the destruction of the fort at Detroit. Enraged at their failure and heavy loss, they collected their scattered bands on Fox River, which was their natural country, and for which they showed to the last an enduring affection. With increased hatred toward the French they exacted a tribute from all traders passing up and down the river in their richly-laden canoes, until commerce was nearly destroyed. In 1716 Lieut. de Louvigny headed an expedition against them in which eight hundred savages joined. They were attacked at their principal village, which was some thirty-seven miles above the mouth of the river, where, in a rude fort, surrounded by a triple row of oak stakes, more than five hundred war-

riors and three thousand women and children had fled for protection. Here M. de Louvigny attacked them, and on the third day of the siege, while he was preparing to undermine their works, the Foxes, failing a reinforcement of three hundred Indians hourly expected, surrendered. The terms of capitulation, granted in honor of their unexampled bravery, were unusually mild in savage warfare; the Foxes agreeing to make peace with all tribes friendly to the French, and war on other tribes that they might secure slaves who should supply the place of those they had killed among the allies of the French, and pay the expenses of the war from the chase—pledges which were never fulfilled.*

For a time there was peace in the valley of the Fox, but when Montigny took possession of the fort, low mutterings of serious trouble were again heard. On June 7th, 1726, *Sieur Marchand de Lignery*, representing the governor of Canada, held a council at *La Baye*, called to promote peace among the nations, at which were present representatives of the Fox, Sac and

*Parkman's, *A Half-Century of Dishonor*, Vol. I., pp. 321 *et seq.*

Winnebago tribes. After a prolonged discussion in the presence of Messrs. D'Amariton, Cligancourt, and Rev. Father Char-don, the chiefs of the three nations pledged their tribes to maintain peace with each other and with the French. But the Foxes were soon pillaging and murdering as before, and in 1728 had become so troublesome that another effort was made to drive them out of the country.

This second expedition, under the command of Sieur de Lignery, composed of four hundred French and eight or nine hundred Indians, paddled up Fox River on the night of August 17th. Notwithstanding precautions taken to conceal their arrival, the Foxes were apprised of it and all excepting four old men and women managed to escape. These were given over to the Indians, with the French, who, after torturing, shot them to death with their arrows. Before the return of the army the Fox vil-lages from the Portage to the mouth of Fox River were burned. "They destroyed all that they could find in the fields, Indian corn, peas, beans and gourds, of which the savages had great abundance."*

*Crispel, Expedition Against the Foxes. Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. X., p. 50.

This, it was anticipated, would inflict terrible suffering, and as a result half of the tribe, numbering four thousand souls, would die of hunger before spring, and the balance come to the French asking mercy. Subsequent events proved the fallacy of such expectations, for the Foxes were not so easily subdued. De Lignery, on his return, stopped at Green Bay long enough to destroy Fort St. Francis, assigning as a reason, that the garrison was not sufficient to hold it against the Foxes, should they attempt its capture, an excuse not unquestioningly received by his superiors. Father Chardon, the last Jesuit priest to minister on these shores, was forced to leave with the troops, it not being safe, in the unsettled state of the Indians, for him to remain without military protection, and the country was left without a religious instructor.

The Foxes, "passionate and untamable, springing into new life from every defeat, and, though reduced in the number of their warriors, yet present everywhere by their ferocious enterprise and savage character," were soon gathered again on the banks of the Fox River, exacting,

as before, tribute from the traders, until a total cessation of trade was likely to ensue. The *Sieur Pierriere Marin*, a French trader of energetic character, is said to have been the next to take arms against this formidable enemy. His boats, heavily laden with valuable peltries, were frequently subjected to exorbitant tax, until, so the story runs, he determined to drive the Foxes, once for all, from their position on Fox River.

Raising a volunteer force at Mackinac he brought them to the vicinity of Fort St. Francis, in the large flat bottomed boats, pointed at each end, commonly used by traders of that day, and there rested for the night. On the following morning, a boat loaded with merchandise and a double quantity of brandy was sent up the river with instructions to allow it to be plundered without resistance. The next day Captain Marin, having been reinforced by Indians hostile to the Foxes, passed up the river. A mile or so below the Fox village he landed a part of his small army with orders to gain the woods in the rear of the village, and wait for the sound of firing from the front before making an attack.

A bend in the river concealed the boats, while the soldiers remaining were covered down by the painted canvas, carried by traders to protect their goods during inclement weather. Two soldiers in each boat, disguised as *voyageurs*, and singing a merry boat song, then rowed the fleet towards the village. Fifteen hundred Indians, staggering and wild with the liquor taken from the bateau sent up the day before, rushed to the shore. Firing just athwart the bow of the foremost boat, according to custom, they commanded the flotilla to come to land. The boats were rowed near the shore, when at a given signal, coverings were thrown off and a volley of hot lead fired at the unsuspecting savages, who with wild yells fled in dismay to the village. The flanking party had entered from the rear and having set fire to the frail bark cabins met the fleeing savages with a storm of bullets. Hemmed in on all sides, the Foxes fought desperately amidst their burning cabins to cut their way through ; some succeeded, the rest were cut down, no quarter was given ; all was over in a few minutes, and the populous village but a heap of ashes. One thousand Indians are said

to have fallen in this sanguinary encounter, and from that day until the present the field of this famous battle has been known as Little Butte des Morts—Hillock of the Dead.

The remnant of the Foxes, clinging with the tenacity of despair to their cherished hunting grounds, settled again on the river, but nearer Lake Winnebago, where they continued to harrass the French. Routed by Marin from this position, they rested for a time on the banks of the Wisconsin, but Sieur Marin, unwilling they should remain where they could still obstruct the thoroughfare, surprised the village, killing twenty warriors and taking all others, including women and children, prisoners. Having fully conquered the Foxes, Marin gave those remaining their freedom, but required them to retire beyond the Mississippi, which they did somewhere about the year 1746.*

For thirty years this war had been carried on in what is now Wisconsin with a bitterness rarely equalled. The Indians had been routed and driven away again

*The report of this raid of Marin's against the Foxes, though often repeated, is based only on Indian tradition.

and again, only to return at the first opportunity to the banks of their sacred river, until in the end the resistless force of the invader conquered and they were thrust out forever.



CHAPTER IV.

Charles de Langlade, First Permanent Settler and Military Hero.

All initiative ventures have in them something heroic, and the man who hews the timber for the first cabin of an embryo city carves for himself a lasting monument, which after long years, perhaps, the hand of history unveils.

When Augustin de Langlade and his son, Charles Michel, first permanent settlers of Wisconsin, came to La Baye Verte, the country was almost as wild and solitary as it had been a century before. No priest had held religious service thereabouts for many years, the mission chapel at Rapides des Peres had been destroyed by fire; and the little fort contained only a handful of men, who, too weak in numbers for a defense against any hostile attack, served merely to remind the surrounding redskins that the great Onon-thio kept a watchful eye over his adopted children.

Either sent by the French Government to look after the Indians of this quarter, or invited by the latter for purposes of trade, or having themselves heard of this point as a desirable one for establishing a depot of supplies, the two De Langlades, about the year 1745, came to La Baye. At first their establishment was a limited one, and their residence of a temporary nature; for they could not break at once with the comfort and associates of Michillimackinac, long their home, and were constantly going back and forth, their names meanwhile remaining on the Mackinac records as residents of that place. It was there that Augustin de Langlade, a Canadian of French parentage, had married the sister of Nissowaquet, head chief of the Ottawa Nation; there, in 1729, Charles was born and passed his early years, receiving his mental development from the Jesuit, Pere Du Jauny, who figures largely in the annals of that place and time; while his physical training in all out-door sports, and initiation into the science of border warfare, came from his Indian kinsmen, who were not a little proud of this young athlete and incipient warrior.

His military career began at an early age; for he was only in his eleventh year when his uncle, Nissowaquet, leading a war party against a hostile tribe, was seized by the superstitious fancy that unless young Charles accompanied the expedition it would end in disaster. So the boy was allowed to go, and just before the onslaught was placed with some other lads at a safe distance, but in full view of the combatants. This attack being successful, the young mascot ever after took the trail with his elders when a campaign was on foot.

The reputation for courage so early established, was of great service in the pioneer venture at La Baye; for though the Indians of the surrounding country were almost uniformly friendly, yet there was occasionally a disposition shown to molest the property of the new settlers. Sometimes a strolling band from the Menominee River, in the hope of extracting presents, would threaten to take by force goods from the storehouse; but an intimation from Charles that he would cross the river and settle the matter with them in fair fight on the prairie was sufficient to

drive off these marauders, who did not care to risk an encounter with so redoubtable an adversary.

The first dwelling and storehouse of the settlement was erected on the east side of the river, and so near its brink that when the north wind blew, the water crept up to the doorway; but it was a convenient landing-place for the loaded canoes, whose valuable cargoes were easily transferred to safe-keeping in the substantial log building, while the Indians came and went at will; for in these frontier dwellings the door was always open to guests, were they dark-skinned or white.*

A few families, connections for the most part of the De Langlades, one by one migrated to La Baye, where the monotony of existence was varied by an occasional event of tragic interest. Such was the murder of Captain de Villiers, commandant at Fort St. Francis, in 1746. It was the year of final conflict with the Foxes. The Sacs, close allies of the refractory tribe, had yet demeaned themselves

*The dwelling stood on the spot now occupied by a brick house, formerly the residence of Mrs. H. O. Crane.

thus far in a friendly manner toward the whites. Their stockaded village stood opposite the fort on the sandy lowland where is now the business center of Green Bay, and here they had harbored a number of Fox fugitives, who because of kinship through intermarriages between the tribes, or from friendly feeling, they considered themselves bound to protect.

An order was issued by De Villiers that these Foxes should be delivered up, which was willingly complied with by their allies. Only one boy, protégé of an old crone, remained, and over him discussion and argument were exhausted in vain; the foster mother could not be induced to part with her child. De Villiers had little patience to bear with the slow and tedious processes of Indian negotiation, and one night after a roustering supper given in honor of a brother officer, he was paddled over to the cluster of tepees across the river where a council was in session. Here he peremptorily demanded possession of the lad, and upon being put off with the usual excuses, became infuriated, raised the gun that he carried, and firing right and left killed

three of the assembled chiefs. A young Indian, outraged at this unprovoked bloodshed, ran for a gun and shot the reckless officer through the heart.

This murder, although quite justifiable, was amply avenged on the unfortunate Sacs. Military were sent on to reinforce the garrison, which, joined by the Canadian settlers under Charles de Langlade, attacked the village; after a sharp fight, the latter was destroyed, and its occupants driven in search of new camping grounds to the westward.

As years went by the De Langlades grew strong in influence with the tribes about La Baye, Charles especially becoming chief counselor and arbitrator; yet the cares of trade must have devolved principally upon the senior De Langlade, who, after the manner of traders, passed the summer months in Michillimackinac, removing with his family to the trading post when approaching winter brought around the busy season of traffic. The younger man was early called to play a role of wider interest than the barter of furs, or the settling of squabbles in Indian wigwams.

At this time the Indian trade was by no means as intricate as it afterward became; peltries were plenty, and the traders, comparatively few in number, realized large profits on the coarse stroud blankets, firearms, and gew-gaws coveted by their Indian customers. Apart from the private traffic carried on by licensed traders, large dealings were held with the Indians by the French government through the fort, and in 1754, thirteen canoes of goods, valued at \$18,000, were quoted as annually required for the Indian trade of this department. It is said that although the fort commandant shared the profits of his lucrative post with the governor and intendant of New France, his dividend amounted annually to 15,000 francs.* The entire garrison of Fort St. Francis consisted of six men, a sergeant, and four privates under command of the Sieur Marin, who was a son of the Marin of Fox war fame, and continued at this post for three years.†

In 1752 came the decisive outbreak of hostilities between the French and English,

*Turner's "Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin."

† Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. V., pp. 116-17; Vol. X., p. 304.

which, pursued with intermittent activity during the eight years following, resulted at last in the fall of New France. As yet neither side was committed to an open declaration of war. Commissioners, appointed at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, still met in session at Paris in futile endeavor to settle the limits of Acadia and lines of demarcation between the rival colonies. But while ostensibly preserving amicable relations, the two great powers were secretly conniving at a series of border raids, and the active preparation for attack and defense, ominous precursors of the coming storm.*

At the beginning of these troubles, young De Laiglade was ordered by the French government to lead a large party of Ottawas and Ojibways against an Indian town in Ohio, where English traders had for some time been endeavoring, quite successfully, to undermine French influence with the savages. This seems to have been rather an inglorious fight, it being the hunting season and the town but poorly protected by a handful of warriors, so that victory for the attacking

*Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe."

party was inevitable. A more notable service was in the campaign three years later (1755) against the forces of General Braddock, in which De Langlade took an important part.

His orders were to collect the Indians of the lake region, and conduct them to Fort Duquesne, then menaced by the British. It is probable that the entire Indian force was under De Langlade's command, for there were with him Pottawattamies, Ottawas, Chippeways, Menomines, Winnebagoes, and Hurons, tribes often at variance with each other, yet willing to make common cause under the guidance of this brave young leader.

The surprise of Braddock's army at the Monongahela; the swift descent of Indians and French upon the camp; the total rout of the British forces, and death of their general, are matters of history, but it was to De Langlade's inspiring influence that the victory over a greatly superior force was due. He it was, who, knowing that in such an attack the Canadians and Indian allies could be used to infinite advantage, persuaded his captain, Beaujeu, to order an advance, that made

havoc among the well-disciplined troops of the enemy.

Braddock's army had encamped for dinner and was quietly enjoying rest after the toilsome march, when, with the terrible war-whoop, so appalling to civilized ears, the savage horde came upon them. At once the camp was placed in an attitude of defense, but the assailants surrounded it on all sides, and, stationed on rising ground, where a thick growth of trees and bushes gave perfect concealment, poured a deadly fire into the platoons of bewildered soldiery, who knew not where to charge their enemy, and after a spirited resistance retired in confusion. On the battlefield were left six hundred dead, while many more were killed in the retreat, or drowned in the stream whither they were driven by their pursuers. The French loss was estimated at about thirty all told. De Langlade, after the engagement, in order to prevent his savages from becoming unmanageable, ordered all liquor found in the enemy's stores to be poured out on the ground, but French and redskins were allowed to plunder the slain.

After this expedition De Langlade re-

turned to La Baye, but soon again enlisted in the service at Fort Duquesne. Two years later (1757), he conducted a force of several hundred redmen down the lakes, probably to join Lieutenant Marin, who had preceded him with sixty Indians in July, and take part in an attack on Fort William Henry. Fully seventeen hundred warriors assembled to lend their cruel and capricious aid in the capture of this ill-fated fortress, and great diplomacy was essential in restraining and keeping together so undisciplined a command under their enforced idleness, while preparations for the siege were completing.* Montcalm, general-in-chief of the French forces, who had little fondness for such barbarous reinforcements, while he recognized the necessity of employing them, writes in July, 1757: "Last month a thousand savages arrived from the upper country, many of whom came four or five hundred leagues. It is no small task to make the sojourn of troops like these profitable."

After the successful issue of the siege, Vaudreuil, governor general of New

*Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe."

France, as a compensation for good service, appointed De Langlade second in command of the fort at Michillimackinac, where he did not, however, long remain inactive, for in 1758 he again took the field, being this time employed near Fort Duquesne.

The long struggle was at last drawing to a close. France, deeply involved in the European war then raging, gave but half-hearted assistance to her North American colonies. While a hundred thousand French soldiers marched with the Austrian army against Frederick of Prussia, only a few battalions were grudgingly sent across the water to unite with a host of Canadian recruits, patriotic indeed, and useful in ambuscade or as bushrangers, but knowing little or nothing of the tactics of war.

England, on the other hand, sent out a well-equipped army of many thousand men, and joined to these was a large force of sturdy, resolute colonists, fully determined to be rid of an enemy from whose depredations their border settlers had suffered much, and who effectually barred the widening of their boundaries toward the fertile and attractive West.

One by one the French forts south of the St. Lawrence had been forced to surrender, until, in 1759, but one remained, Ticonderoga, at the head of Lake George, thoroughly fortified, but in constant danger of attack from a strong force under General Amherst. Acadia had been lost in the preceding year through the capture of Louisbourg by General Wolfe, and in June, 1759, the same indomitable commander, with nine thousand men, twenty-two ships of the line, frigates, sloops-of-war and a great number of transports, set sail for the mouth of the St. Lawrence.*

Montcalm, thus menaced, resolved to mass his entire force on the elevations about Quebec, considered by him an impregnable stronghold, and hither the Western allies were summoned to aid in the defense; De Langlade, at the head of two hundred warriors, being among the number. Here again the skill and sagacity of the frontiersman planned a bold move, that might have resulted in great loss to the enemy, and possibly led to a panic as fatal as that at the Monongahela.* A reconnoitering party, two thou-

* Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe."

sand strong, venturing close to the French outposts—an ambush of savages eager to raise the war-cry and fall upon the unwary enemy—De Langlade urging, imploring, his superiors to give the authority and support necessary for an attack; then the fortunate moment gone, the opportunity lost, which might have averted for a time the overthrow of French supremacy in Canada.*

After the defeat of Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham, his death, the subsequent panic and hasty withdrawal of the troops by Vaudreuil, and the surrender of Quebec, De Langlade returned to Michillimackinac; yet once more in the following spring (1760) he joined the reorganized army in the vain attempt to regain for France her Canadian provinces. When it became apparent that all hope was gone, and peace upon any terms must be concluded, De Langlade led back his Indian bands to their villages in the upper lake regions, receiving in acknowledgment of service rendered a commission as retired lieutenant signed by Louis XV.† He at

* Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe."

† See illustration. The original is in possession of Mrs. M. L. Martin.

once resumed his duties as second officer in command at Michillimackinac, where shortly afterward letters from Vaudreuil apprised him of the capitulation of Montreal.

Immediately all French forts throughout Canada were handed over to the English, but were not at once occupied by them, remaining for some time with garrisons of French or Canadians. The first British commandant of Michillimackinac, Captain George Etherington, took possession in 1761, and desiring to become well acquainted with the state of affairs in his new post and its dependencies, invited some of the most influential among the French traders to come to the fort, take the oath of allegiance, and confer with him on important questions. Among them were the two De Langlades, who were treated with considerable deference, Charles being reappointed superintendent of Indian affairs for the Green Bay division, a position which he had held under the French government.

By the terms of capitulation, French subjects were allowed to remain in the country in full enjoyment of their civil

DE PAR LE ROY.

Sa Majesté ayant fait choix du S^r Langlade pour servir en qualité de Lieutenant réformé à la suite des troupes entretenues en Canada, Elle mande au Gouverneur, Son Lieutenant-général de la Nouvelle-France, de le recevoir et de le faire reconnaître en la dite qualité de Lieutenant réformé de tout ceux et ainsy qu'il appartiendra. Fait à Versailles, le pr. février 1760.

“ LOUIS.”

and religious liberties, but the rights of trade belonged to the new masters, and before the close of the year all desirable posts were occupied by them. On the 12th of October, 1761, British troops, under command of Captain Balfour, of the 80th, and Lieutenant James Gorrell, of the 60th, Royal American Regiments, landed at old Fort St. Francis at La Baye, which they found in a dilapidated condition; the houses without cover, the stockade rotten and ready to fall. Captain Balfour, after a general survey of the fort and surrounding country, departed, leaving Lieutenant Gorrell with a small command, made up of one sergeant, one corporal, fifteen privates, and a French interpreter, in whom he felt little confidence, as representative of British authority in this dismal outpost, to which had been given the high-sounding name of Fort Edward Augustus.* Two English traders, who came under the protection of the military, bringing with them large and complete outfits of goods, were assigned quarters at the fort.

It had been recommended by Sir

*Gorrell's Journal, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. I., pp. 25-6; II., p. 232.

William Johnson, general superintendent of Indian affairs in the Northwest, that as La Baye Verte was a great place for trade, presents should be generously distributed among the surrounding Indians, of whom over thirty-nine thousand warriors, beside women and children, depended on this post for supplies.* Gorrell therefore purchased from the traders goods to the amount of £135. s12, exclusive of wampum; and thus bribed, the Indians crowded to the fort, expressing great satisfaction that the English had come among them, promising friendship and plenty of valuable skins in exchange for British goods, which indeed were much cheaper and of better quality than those furnished by the French. Yet, despite the apparent good-will of these diplomatists, who came to smoke the pipe of peace and exchange compliments with the commandant, there was an undercurrent inimical to the new control; rumors of attack were constant; and two English traders, who ventured to follow the winter hunt, were never again heard from.

*Gorrell's Journal, in Wis. His. Colls., Vol. I., p. 32.

The little band passed a long and dreary winter, working to repair the fort and secure shelter against the bitter cold, from which they suffered severely. The young commander found himself placed in a perilous position, surrounded as he was by hostiles, both French and Indian—one false move, and destruction would have overwhelmed the garrison; but with a fearless demeanor, to which were added tact, discretion, and uprightness in his dealings with the savages, Lieutenant Gorrell* succeeded in preserving peace under the new administration, and in holding for nearly two years all the country west of the Great Lakes for the young King George, third of the name, who, with the revenues derived therefrom, intended to build in London a palace which should rival Versailles.

The transfer of territory from French to English, and the occupation of this military post by the new power, did not alter, to any extent, the condition of the Cana-

*Gorrell was popular also with the traders. There is extant a letter written by Edward Moran, and dated at Fort Edward Augustus, or La Baye, May 14th, 1763, in which he speaks of kind treatment received from Lieutenant Gorrell, and asks that "a ten-gallon bag of spirits" be sent the officer on his account.

dian settlers, who still continued to live in the same haphazard, happy-go-lucky fashion as before. The British introduced some few comforts amongst them, but little attention was given to agriculture, and the resources of the country in that direction were not developed until a later period. The De Langlades, as we have seen, immediately identified themselves with the British interest, and were granted a permit by Colonel Etherington, which is still extant, and reads as follows :

“ I have this day given permission to Messrs. Langlade, father and son, to remain at the post at La Baye, and do hereby order that no person may intercept them in their voyage thither, with their wives, children, servants and baggage.”*

But Charles and his family lingered at Michillimackinac, and happily for the English commandant had not removed at the time of the Pontiac uprising, when through Etherington's own carelessness and the treacherous strategy of the Chippeways, his whole garrison lay at the mercy of tomahawk and scalping knife. Ether-

*Langlade Papers, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. VIII., p. 217.

ington and Lieutenant Leslie were made prisoners, and it is said that the stakes were driven, and the captives bound ready for burning, when De Langlade, with a band of Ottawas—a tribe ever faithful to his personal command—rescued the two Englishmen, who were taken to a place of safety, De Langlade, by order of Etherington, assuming command of the fort.

This conspiracy also menaced Fort Edward Augustus ; the Sioux and La Baye Indians continuing, however, for the most part friendly, the danger was averted. On June 11th Etherington wrote to Lieutenant Gorrell ordering the evacuation of the fort, saying that he with his men and the English traders at La Baye should hasten without loss of time to L'Arbre Croche, as a general revolt of Indian tribes was anticipated. Trusty French clerks were to be left in charge of the remaining goods, it being well known that no violence would be offered to any of that nation. This letter was received on the 17th, and on the 21st the command was in readiness for removal. Then the small fleet of bateaux, surrounded by its escort of canoes, in

which were the ninety chiefs, Menominee, Winnebago, Fox and Sac, who had volunteered to open the road, closed by the Chippeways, to Montreal, moved out of the river, and thus ended the British military occupation of the fort at La Baye.*

Probably not until after the suppression of the Pontiac trouble, did De Langlade, with his wife and their two children, take up a permanent residence on Fox River. He had married, in 1754, a young and handsome Canadian girl, Charlotte Bourassa, who apparently severed with much regret the pleasant associations of Michillimackinac, to form a new home in the almost wilderness of La Baye; for, quite unlike the rapidly-maturing Western towns of to-day, this little group of *voyageurs'* cabins increased slowly as years went by. The Indians, Madame de Langlade regarded with a consuming fear, possibly the result of those terrible days of massacre at

*A certificate granted to "Ogemawnee, chief of the Menomyns," by Sir William Johnson, British Indian superintendent, and dated at Niagara, August 1, 1764, thanking him for "your good behaviour last year in protecting the Officers, Soldiers, etc., of the Garrison of La Baye, and in escorting them down to Montreal," is in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, at Madison.

Mackinac ; the very sight of a canoe skimming down the river, or an Indian blanket in the doorway, filled her with an unreasoning terror. From the surrounding tribes such visitors frequently came in a friendly way to the house, but it was long before the young madame became accustomed to their presence, and convinced that they meant no harm.

Year by year father and son added to their land, until they claimed as their own fifteen acres lying opposite the fort, and south along the river, and extending back indefinitely. A part of this tract was cultivated as a garden, part was used as meadow land, and the wooded portion supplied the winter's fuel, and the maple sugar, which was made each spring in large quantities.

Just across the river, and a half mile south of the fort, its wigwams, built of bark, bound with thongs of the elm tree's fibre, or in conical shape and covered with mats made of "puckaway" grass, lay the village of the Menominees, that tribe said by De Langlade to be the most peaceful, brave, and faithful of all that had served under him. In the Pontiac rebellion this

tribe refused to break their friendly relation with the British, and when a messenger from the conspirator came to them, bearing the red wampum belt, and a summons to join in the plot, he was sent back to his chief with a very emphatic refusal. "Old King's Village," the cluster of cabins was called, and here lived the head chief Cha-kau-cho-ka-ma, or the Old King, and his speaker, Carron, son of a French trader, and father of the noted chief, Tomah. Cha-kau-cho-ka-ma, for his fidelity to the English, received from Governor Haldimand* a large silver medal, with a certificate of his chieftainship and good service; and Carron was at the same time rewarded by the gift of a fine suit of embroidered clothes, a partiality that filled the lesser chiefs with envious displeasure. This peace-loving old man died in Old King's village about the year 1780.†

Of the six families that had joined the De Langlades at Le Baye, three—Baptist Brunette, Legral and Joseph Roy—took

* Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of North America at Quebec.

† The refusal of the Menominees to join the Pontiac conspiracy was due to Carron's influence.

up land on the west side of the river ; while the others, Pierre Grignon, Amable Roy and Marchand, ranged themselves along the eastern bank, each farm being a narrow strip of land running back two or three miles, but only a few arpents in width on the river front ; besides these, there were none but red men along the river's entire length. The small log houses clustered close together, insuring thereby protection against Indian marauders, and giving opportunity for the social gatherings and frolics, which were as necessary a part of French life as was the provision for its daily needs.

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Charles de Langlade was induced to enter the British service, and this acquisition Captain De Peyster, at that time commandant of the fort at Michillimackinac, declared equivalent to enlisting all the western tribes in that interest. So while Tory and Colonist clashed arms along the Atlantic coast, and settled the question of a nation's existence, De Langlade, and his nephew, Gautier de Verville, were kept constantly employed going from tribe to tribe, speechifying, adjusting in-

ternecine quarrels, trying to outbid the "Bostonians"* with presents of wampum, clothing or food, if necessary. Interest in the British success was only lukewarm among western tribes, for the Creoles, almost to a man, sympathized with their colonial neighbors, and the savages were greatly influenced by them. "The Indians are perfect Freemasons when intrusted with a secret by a Canadian," writes De Peyster in 1778; and his letters all along show the difficulty in dealing with these fickle, irresponsible allies, whose friendship it was yet so necessary to retain.†

De Langlade and Gautier were great favorites with De Peyster, and, when not enlisting recruits, or leading out war parties, they were kept by the officer at Michillimackinac, where they received large pay, and were treated with respect. The remuneration given them seems to have been insufficient for their needs, however; for De Peyster, asking for them an increase

*This term was applied by French and Indians to all Americans.

†De Peyster's "Miscellanies," a rare book. See sketch of De Peyster in Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. XI., p. 97.

of salary, says: "These gentlemen represent that they cannot live at this extravagant place on their allowance, having a constant run of Indians, who snatch the food out of their mouths."

These were exciting times, too, at La Baye; the large parties of Indians collected by Gautier and De Langlade usually rendezvoused there before passing on eastward and with their pow-wows and war-dances made hideous revel in the place. At one time war was declared between the Indians of this region and the Chippeway nation; at another, the news came that Colonel George Rogers Clark, who was sweeping everything before him in the Illinois country, would soon be at La Baye with three hundred men.

It was to stir up the Indians for an expedition against Colonel Clark that, in 1779, De Peyster called a great council at L'Arbre Croche, near Mackinac. Thither the tribes were invited, to partake, as was customary, of a feast, dance the war-dance, and pledge their assistance to the British cause. A messenger went to the Indians of Milwaukee, but was met by cold indifference; then Gautier essayed to

arouse their enthusiasm, only to be treated with insolent ridicule. "Those runagates of Milwaukee," De Peyster calls them, "a horrid set of refractory Indians." Yet one effort further must be made to secure their promise of allegiance, and this time De Langlade himself went to them.

In order to command an added respect, he wore his gay British uniform, the scarlet suit, high chapeau, and sword belt of red morocco, with the silver buckle, still to be seen in the Wisconsin Historical Society's museum. Finding every appeal unavailing, he at last drew upon his knowledge of savage superstition, and caused a lodge to be built in the village center, where a dog feast, dear to the Indian heart, was prepared. A piece of dog's heart, raw and bleeding, was suspended at each open door of this lodge, and when the feast was over De Langlade, chanting a war song, marched around the booth, biting, each time he passed the doorway, a piece from the raw heart. This irresistible appeal to all brave hearts among his guests brought one warrior after another to his feet, and soon all had joined in the march and song, had tasted of the dog's heart, and were irrevoc-

cably pledged to follow their leader. At the close of the war, De Langlade was fittingly compensated for his services by the British government, which granted him an annuity of \$800, and a tract of land in Canada containing three thousand acres. He was also, in 1752, confirmed in the possession of his lands at La Baye.

His military career over, he settled down to quiet citizenship; but even then his life was by no means an inactive one. The elder De Langlade, to whom, if to any, the title, "Father and Founder of Wisconsin," belongs, had died about the year 1771, leaving Charles at the head of an extensive business; he had, besides, the charge of Indian affairs in the Western district, and was also captain of the local militia. His farming interest was looked after by Pierre Grignon, a Canadian gentleman, who, coming to La Baye in 1773, soon became a close friend of the De Langlades, and later a new tie cemented the friendship, for Grignon married the young daughter of his employer.

At this time Charles de Langlade lived in a small house on the river shore, and in 1790 Grignon built a fine new home a

few rods to the southward and facing the river, but farther eastward.* Stories are yet told of handsome carved woodwork, brought from Montreal to adorn the spacious living room, where a wide fireplace yawned ready for the great oak logs that sent sheets of flame up the deep-throated chimney, when the biting cold of winter settled down on river and prairie. When the young Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orleans, exiled from his native land, and an outcast from European courts, came across seas to our new republic, he extended his wanderings as far as this little French village, where he was entertained right royally in the dwelling by the river. He wondered much, tradition says, to hear his own tongue spoken with pure Parisian accent, and when at the evening merry-making, Madam de Langlade stepped a minuet, he vowed that in stately grace she rivaled the court ladies. An idle tale, perhaps, which casts the glamor of romance over a life that must have been difficult

*The De Langlade house stood at the foot of Doty Street, near where Straubel & Ebeling's mill now is. On the opposite side of Washington Street, one square south, was the home of Pierre Grignon.

and somewhat lawless at the best, but those of us who have felt the charm of gentle manner and unstudied courtesy in a later generation of the old pioneer families, will not be slow to believe that a refining influence pervaded, and made happy, their rude dwellings in the wilderness.

Trader and traveler, French and English, came and went, and all were made welcome to the bounty that reigned without stint. Pierre Grignon was a prince of entertainers, and a fine, affable gentleman as well. Each fall when traders came from the East, on their way to the Indian camps, Grignon would invite a jolly company of them to a banquet, where all delicacies procurable in water, air, and forest were served; where good wine flowed freely, and song and story made merry the flying hours.

The beginning of a new century, which was to work radical changes in the settlement at La Baye, saw the death of its principal landed proprietor, Charles de Langlade. Although for a score of years afterward the French Canadians largely predominated over in-coming

settlers, his death marked the decadence of this influence in the growing town. He was the link uniting the old days of French dominion, with its high-sounding titles and large pretensions, to a more practical era, and the romance of the old régime lingers about his memory.

In later life he is described by his grandson, Augustin Grignon, as somewhat above the medium height, rather heavy, but never corpulent. His crown was bald, the hair on his temples of a silvery whiteness. Under heavy eyebrows, grown together, his large, deep black eyes looked out with gentle benignity, but could kindle into anger at suspicion of an insult. He loved to live over in narration his active career, recalling the battles and forays, ninety-nine in all, in which he had taken part, regretting that the number had not been rounded out to an even one hundred. Nor was this the empty boast of an old man looking back with indulgent eyes over his past. The Indians, always quick to seize upon the salient point in character or appearance, bestowed on De Langlade the name, Au-ke-win-ge-ke-tau-so, meaning, "He who is fierce for the land"—a military conqueror.

Almost half a century after his death, at one of the many treaties held in Wisconsin, an old Menominee chief was overheard relating to an audience of his own people the story of Mackinac's capture, which he brought to a climax thus :

“ When the Chippeway war chief captured Fort Michillimackinac and the English officers, he was required by the spirit which gave him power to make a sacrifice of his prisoners, but before he could do this, the ‘Bravest of the Brave’ came, and snatched the captives out of his hands, and the war chief squatted down, foiled of his purpose.”

“ Who was this ‘Bravest of the Brave’ ?” asked his listeners, “ and why did the Chippeway war chief so easily relinquish his victims ?”

To which the old chief replied, “ The Bravest of the Brave, whose courage was too well known all over the western world for anyone to dare oppose him, was Au-ke-win-ge-ke-tau-so, Charles de Langlade.”*

*The material for this chapter, unless otherwise noted, is taken from Grignon's *Recollections*, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. III., and from “*Memoirs of Charles de Langlade*,” by Joseph Tasse, *Id.*, Vol. VII.

CHAPTER V.

"In Good Old Colony Days."

In reviewing the transition period comprised in the half century that succeeded the withdrawal of French rule, it seems little less than marvelous that, amidst the turmoil of contending nations and never-ending Indian embroilments, trade should have maintained a firm foothold, and that English capital and enterprise, though often driven off the ground, continued to push their way into the western wilderness.

In 1783 the Northwest Company, for the prosecution of the fur trade, was organized at Montreal, at first with very moderate expectations of gain; in a few years its ramifications extended from Hudson Bay to the Rocky Mountains, and its revenues were enormous.

A general depot of supplies for the Mississippi Indians was located at Mackinac, with branch houses at La Baye and Prairie du Chien, and Canadian *voyageurs* constantly drifted back and forth, either

in the employ of these establishments or as independent traders. The Fox River settlement in 1785 numbered just fifty-six souls. All business was transacted on the east side, where stood two trading houses; one belonging to a Mackinac company, with an agent in charge; the other owned by Pierre Grignon. In 1791 came Jacques Porlier,* afterwards a successful trader, and in 1794 Jacob Franks, an English Jew, as clerk for the firm of Ogilvie, Gillespie & Co., who had established a post at the Baye. Three years later Franks bought out the entire business interest, and set up for himself, bringing from Canada, as an assistant, his young nephew, John Lawe, † then about sixteen years of age.

From old letters and other documents, dating back to 1800, we gain an insight into the life of that day in this distant corner of the world. The absorbing topic of interest is the fur trade, and it appears a matter of wonder that large fortunes were ever made from this most uncertain traffic.

* Porlier lived for many years in the small, low house on the west side of Fox River, since known as the Tank cottage. It was built by one of the Roys early in the present century.

† Lawe's father was an officer in the English service.

Prices for peltries in London always seem at the lowest ; the Indians are rogues, and cheat if possible ; while the winter hunt is invariably a disappointment. Complaint



Home of Jacques Porlier.

is made to Jacob Franks, in 1802, that wandering traders follow small bands of Indians to the woods, and in exchange for whisky take from them beaver and other skins when green, to the detriment of business at the legitimate posts. Notwithstanding the continued depression in the peltry market, however, these early settlers of La Baye appear to have lived in great comfort, and gleaned considerable enjoyment out of life.

As early as 1806 the firms of Pierre and

Augustin Grignon, Porlier and Rocheblave, Jacob Franks, and John Lawe, all carried on extensive trading operations, not only at La Baye, but throughout the western country, a younger member of the firm or a clerk being sent to take charge of the winter camp. During the summer months the only fur in fit state to be taken was that of the red deer, a skin little prized by the traders, who profited, however, by this lull in trade to prosecute their annual voyages to Montreal or Mackinac. Much time was also devoted to an oversight of their gardens, on the successful cultivation of which depended their winter's supply of vegetables and grain. The work was performed entirely by *engagés*, an ignorant yet sturdy set of men, ready for any menial or mechanical work at hand, who were bound by a cast iron contract to serve their employers for the term of two years or over. They were to execute faithfully every duty imposed on them by the 'Sieur.* This engagement not infrequently was extended to five years, while the *voyageur* might, on the other

*Turner's "Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin," p. 79.

hand, be transferred to another master at pleasure of his chief.

Autumn brought the great excitement of the year, for then the traders bound for distant posts on the Mississippi halted at La Baye, which was dubbed by them "The City," in recognition of its lively social character. Long before the little hamlet was reached, in the far distance could be heard the song of the *voyageurs* who paddled with redoubled effort as they neared the end of their long and tedious journey. As the canoe shot into sight, the group of expectant habitants on the shore could distinguish the swarthy boatmen dressed in gayest colors to be bought in Montreal. Coarse blue trousers, gaudy striped shirt and bright handkerchief knotted at the throat; girded about the waist a scarlet sash, in which were thrust the sharp knife and pouch of tobacco, while a tasseled worsted cap or brilliant turban bound around the head, completed the costume. Seated amidships, keeping a sharp eye on his crew, was the "bourgeois," or clerk, who commanded the expedition, surrounded by bags of dried peas or hard biscuits, and packages of

merchandise. This young autocrat in corduroy roundabout and trousers affected the air of a gentleman of leisure, the *engagés* and guides treating him as a superior being. None of the drudgery devolved upon him; at difficult landings he was carried to shore on the shoulders of his men, yet with all these advantages the lot of the bourgeois was not an easy one. In his far-away post he was often pinched by hunger; the chase became of absorbing interest, and even if game could be procured, flour and salt were luxuries unknown. No wonder he looked back regretfully to the halcyon days spent at La Baye, where, with comrades of his class he would dawdle away the time as long as an excuse for delay could be invented. One young trader, becoming unutterably weary of the winter loneliness at the Milwaukee post, made the long journey of over one hundred miles on snow shoes and alone, to spend a merry week with his *voyageur* friend, Jacob Franks.

No gayer little settlement could at this time be found west of Montreal. The Ducharmes, Brunettes, Chevalliers and Roys were as fond of the dance as any of their

merry countrymen, and in the snug cabins, with their sloping bark roofs and mud chimneys, there could always be found a fiddler ready to wield the bow when occasion offered. So, although wolves howled on the outskirts of the clearings and bears made frequent raids on the sheep folds, the light-hearted Canadians, happy in their isolation, cheated the dreary time. While winter held sway, the icy river formed a race track for cariole and French train. Seated in the latter, a box about five feet long and four inches high, well wrapped in furs, protected from nipping cold by the high capote drawn closely over head and neck, the habitants would skim over the clear ice, drawn by small French ponies, with the merry jingle of bells as an accompaniment to the drive. It was a free, jolly existence, and few of those who enjoyed it for any length of time, cared to return to civilized life.

In 1796, England formally yielded possession of the western countries, and withdrew her garrisons from Mackinac and Detroit, but the authority of the United States at La Baye was a dead letter until

in 1803 first slight notice was bestowed upon the settlement by the issue of a commission, signed by Governor Harrison, of Indiana, whose authority extended throughout the Northwest, appointing Charles Reaume as justice of the peace. This erratic Frenchman, who was first to represent the judiciary within the limits of Wisconsin, arrived at his new home on Fox River in 1792 from La Prairie, a little hamlet lying across the St. Lawrence River from Montreal. After an attempt at merchandising in a small way, and having sold out or squandered his stock in trade, he purchased a few arpents of land fronting on the river, and bounded on the north by La Riviere Glaise, a small, picturesque stream flowing into the Fox three miles above its mouth, and now called less euphoniously Dutchman's Creek. Here he built himself a comfortable house, and lived with his dog Rabasto, trained by him to drive away the thieving black-birds that troubled his wheat and corn fields.

Many are the queer stories related of old Judge Reaume. He presided over his primitive court with an air of pom-

pous dignity, dressed in an ancient British uniform, red coat and cocked hat; in making arrests, his old horn jack knife was exhibited by the constable in place of a warrant. One volume of Blackstone adorned his cabin, but did not in any manner influence his decisions, the legal code improvised by him being a combination of the *coutume de Paris*, or old laws of France, and the customs of the traders with whose peculiar modes of adjudication he was entirely familiar. Practically Reaume's court was the supreme court of the country, for the county town of Vincennes was distant and difficult of access, requiring four or five hundred miles of travel by the circuitous route of that day, so that the losing party preferred to suffer injustice rather than go to the expense of an appeal. In his decisions the Judge had an ingenious way of turning the delinquencies of others to his personal profit, and the penalty for an offense would often be a day's work in his Honor's fields or a load of wood or hay for his use.

This sole representative of justice west of Lake Michigan was kept busy with his

varied and responsible duties. There were the long marriage contracts to be written out, the judge going with ink horn and quill to the tidy little French cabin where the ceremony was to take place. Then in presence of the most prominent persons of the village and as many others as could crowd into the small room, Louis Morneau and Louise Chevallier, or some other young couple who wished to marry, with the consent of their parents, were pronounced man and wife. The little brides were often not more than eleven or twelve years old, but the agreement to which they pledged themselves was a very long and serious one, signed by witnesses, sixteen or more, while at the foot of the heavy document in blackest of ink was the signature ending in a flourish :

CHARLES REAUME,

Juge a Paix,

De la Baye Verte.

At the conclusion of this weighty and judicial ceremony came the merry-making, the fiddling, dancing, and feasting, for it was well known that the Judge was fond of the good things of life, and the venison, smothered in wild rice and maple

sugar, the stewed sturgeon, fat ducks, and jug of strong drink, were provided with special reference to his appreciative appetite.

The priestly office was also assumed by this popular magistrate at christenings, and his duties included the transfer of lands, and the drawing up of contracts with *engagés*, who were obliged to promise that they would live on Indian corn and tallow with what other provision could be found in a savage country; that they would look faithfully after the merchandise, peltries, utensils, and all necessary things for the voyage; and this for a yearly stipend of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars.* One of these employés having deserted the trader to whom he was bound, the aggrieved party applied to Judge Reaume for a legal opinion in the matter. The old man answered in his broken English, "I'll make de man go back to his duty." "But," was asked, "what is the law on the subject?" Again came the imperturbable answer, "De law is, I'll make de man go back to his duty." The inquiry was reiterated, "Judge

* MSS. in Wisconsin Historical Society's Library.

Reaume, is there no law bearing on this question?" With conscious dignity the judge replied: "We are accustomed to make de men go back to their bourgeois." And they were made to go back, the whipping post being resorted to if other persuasives failed. On the whole, Judge Reaume was quite equal to the position he was called to fill; his decisions were usually founded on equity, and generally gave entire satisfaction to the simple folk over whom he held arbitrary sway, and, although not versed in jurisprudence, he was respected and loved.

By the provisions of a law enacted by Congress in 1802, trading licenses were to be granted to citizens of the United States and no others;* but La Baye was outside these territorial restrictions, her Canadian inhabitants were sworn subjects of Great Britain, and when, in 1810, the United States garrisoned Mackinac and prepared to enforce the prohibitory law, the aggrieved traders determined to run the blockade or sink all in the venture. A league of seven was formed, headed by Robert Dickson, an agent of the North-

*MSS. in Wisconsin Historical Society's Library.

west Company and a noted English leader. Two of the Baye traders, John Lawe and Jacob Franks, joined the enterprise. The bateaux loaded with fifty thousand dollars worth of goods, and well supplied with fire-arms, to resist if need be, an attack from the garrison, stole by the island at night, passing the sentry without discovery, and arrived in safety at La Baye, where outfits of goods were delivered to the expectant traders.

During the same year Ramsey Crooks and Wilson P. Hunt, agents of Astor's Southwest Company, with their daring band of fellow-explorers, urged their canoes past the scattered *voyageur* cabins along the Fox, bound for the Pacific coast. The perilous overland journey has been immortalized in Irving's "Astoria," and also the failure of this brilliant venture, which came inevitably with the Anglo-American conflict, even then brewing.

On December 18th, 1811, John Jacob Astor wrote Jacob Franks* to use all possible influence to keep peace among the Indians, adding, that should there be war

*Original letter in possession of D. H. Grignon, Green Bay. It is addressed to Mr. Jacob Franks Green Bay, Lake Michigan, Fort Chicago.

between the United States and Great Britain, as then threatened, trade would be ruined and no one benefited. In the following spring foreboding became certainty. War was declared on the 18th of June, 1812; in July the English seized Mackinac, Colonel Dickson, with a following of Menominees, taking part in the attack. Returning to La Baye, laden with the captured spoils, Dickson was there met by a band of Sacs from the Illinois country, who had followed him in hope of obtaining supplies. With them was the noted chief, Black Hawk, whom Dickson named as leader of the allied nations, and dispatched with five hundred warriors to assist in an assault on Detroit.* A powerful coadjutor, from his great influence with the western tribes, Dickson was soon after placed in charge of the district west of Lake Michigan, the title of Agent and Superintendent of Western Nations, being conferred upon him. Five lieutenants and sixteen interpreters were allowed him. Chicago and La Baye were designated as points of rendezvous and deposit for supplies.

*Memoir of Robert Dickson, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. XII., p. 141.

From the first declaration of hostilities, sympathy among French habitants at La Baye went with the English, to whom they had become thoroughly attached. They dreaded the possible advent of Americans, whom they considered nig-gardly as a people, likely to interrupt com-merce with Canada, and certain to subject the traders to vexations and extortions, if nothing worse. Dickson appointed as lieu-tenants for this section, John Lawe and Louis Grignon, a part of whose duties may be understood from the following order:

WINNEBAGO LAKE, November 13th, 1813.

GENTLEMEN—I have been directed by Capt. Bullock, commandant at Michilimackinac, to pro-cure beef, flour and pease for his garrison from La Baye; you will therefore deliver Serg't Mc-Galpin what you can collect, taking his receipt for the same. You will please furnish the detach-ment of Michigan Fencibles with provisions while at La Baye, and for their route to Mackinac, send-ing in account of the same and also what else may be necessary for their voyage. I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your most humble o'b't servant,

ROBERT DICKSON.

A season of sharp adversity now began for the ease-loving people at La Baye. The

French were fur traders, not agriculturists, and were, moreover, much too fond of enjoyment to spend their time in unnecessary labor; so while abundant grain had been harvested to supply the inhabitants and traders who passed that way, it was a different matter when the garrison at Mackinac depended on them for provisions, and Colonel Robert Dickson, from his winter quarters on Garlic Island, made daily demands for food to give the hordes of starving Indians who came to him for aid. "If the provisions fail, and the people refuse to sell, seize what is necessary in the King's name. I would by no means wish to proceed to extremities, but his Majesty's soldiers must be furnished with provisions."*

Garlic Island is one of the loveliest spots on Fox River, but in the bitter winter of 1813 it was an absolute wilderness and by no means a cheerful residence. Dickson became heartily weary of the place, and as his necessities grew urgent he wrote to John Lawe: "Black or white,

*Dickson and Grignon Papers, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. XI., p. 279.

you must contrive to get me a little flour, hunger is not nice respecting the quality." On the bank of La Riviere Glaise there stood at that early day a primitive mill, owned by Pierre Grignon. The miller was Dominick Brunette, nicknamed "Masca," by the neighbors, who lingered to smoke and gossip with him, while the great stones slowly ground out their portions of wheat or corn. Upon this depository for grain the British agent kept a covetous eye. "I hope that Mr. Jacobs has got Masca's fifty bushels of wheat and pair of oxen. There must no toll be paid at the mill, and tell Rabbis that he must not cheat the King, although he may cheat all the rest of the world, which I am convinced he does. If Masca will sell his wheat without any further stipulation at three dollars a bushel, take it, if not we shall keep our eye on it when hunger shall make us keen."

As the winter advanced, Dickson's demands grew imperative. He ordered his lieutenants to procure supplies at the end of their guns, should there be no other way, and if unable to hire a sleigh on which to load a cord of sturgeon, to press

one for the King, horse and owner. Of the beef sent him he writes:

"The Bull was not Beef, only Bone. I will eat Bull Frogs before I buy any more bad beef at 30 cents, and I will starve or plunder rather than be imposed on in the price of provisions. We Kill Ducks in great abundance and can live, if it pleases God, without 30 cent Bone."

Red of face and hair, with a most irascible temper, Dickson presents a curious contrast to the dark-skinned, courteous gentlemen with whom he had to deal, yet in spite of his bluff ways he was well liked by both traders and Indians, the latter being treated by him with paternal kindness.

Tidings of British victories were received on March 20th, 1814, when the royalists of La Baye were ordered to assemble and celebrate the event with the lighting of bonfires, and drinking of healths to His Majesty, the Prince Regent, and Sir George Provost. Later in the season the impoverished habitants planted their little farms, hopeful of better times, and that the scarcity of the preceding winter would not be repeated.

It was on the fourth of July in the same year, that a band of Mackinac red coats, under command of Lt.-Col. William McKay, hot for the capture of the American fort at Prairie du Chien, paused at La Baye for reinforcements. There was hasty arming among the Canadian *voyageurs*, and a company of about thirty was raised, some of them being old men unfit for service. Pierre Grignon was appointed captain, with Peter Powell and Augustin Grignon as Lieutenants, while Jacques Porlier, Jr., received a commission as Lieutenant in Pullman's regulars. A motley fleet moved up the river, the troops and Canadian boatmen in barges or bateaux leading the van, a shoal of bark canoes following with their freight of painted and befeathered savages. The Prairie was reached on the 17th, and after some bloodless skirmishing the fort surrendered.

The damage resulting from this martial interlude, which engaged much of La Baye's working population, was serious. In September, Louis Grignon wrote to friends at Mackinac that the country was much devastated, cattle and Indians had done great harm to the crops, and the wheat

was completely ruined in the fields. Another winter of distress followed. The British agents swore at their government for shameful neglect in failing to send them ammunition and supplies, complaining too, that not even a glass of grog or pipe of tobacco had been received to while away the winter evenings. Colonel Dickson was again icebound for a short time on Lake Winnebago, and his forcible letters give a vivid picture of the sorry situation. In early spring, just before the river highway was rendered impassible by floating ice, Captain Bulger of his Majesty's service, Commandant at Prairie du Chien, made a flying visit to La Baye, and compelled the already overtaxed villagers to pay the hundredth part of their scanty harvesting into the King's store. "This place is destitute of provisions," writes Louis Grignon. "Many of the inhabitants will not be able to sow their fields for lack of seed grain."

One month later, peace was concluded, the Indian recruits were mustered back to their villages with orders to desist henceforth from hostilities against the Americans, and the loyal subjects of his Britannic

Majesty at La Baye Verte awaited with many misgivings the transfer of government and probable inauguration of an entire change of policy.



CHAPTER VI.

Under the American Flag.

There was great rejoicing throughout the land when news was received from Ghent that the United States commissioners and English embassy, for months engaged in diplomatic negotiations, had agreed upon terms for a treaty of peace. Federalists and democrats alike joined in congratulations that the war, which in the commencement had met with strong opposition from a large proportion of the people, was successfully terminated, with honor to the American arms, especially the naval service. Commerce revived; the busy stroke of hammer and mallet was again heard in the ship-yards; the sacked and deserted capital became once more the center of a gay coterie, and the weekly levees of charming Dolly Madison gained in brilliancy by the attendance in full uniform of Major-Generals Brown, Gaines, Scott, and Harrison, heroes of the recent disturbance.

Throughout the northwest Indian country, at Detroit, Michillimackinac, and Green Bay, the outlook and present situation were strikingly different. Deprived of their crops and cattle, and of the revenue derived from the fur trade, which was now practically at a standstill, the Canadian colonists were in a desperate condition. In the immediate vicinity of Green Bay were more than three thousand savages, who were able in an emergency to gather together twice that number from adjoining tribes; all were actively hostile to the new masters, and kept moreover in a state of ferment by English emissaries, who were not unwilling to throw obstacles in the way of their plucky enemies, the Americans.

Brighter days were to dawn, however. The importance of the place was apparent in the jealousy with which the Indian nations regarded its occupancy. It became evident to the authorities at Washington that this pivotal point must be protected, so far as possible, from English interference, and the profits of the fur trade diverted into the government coffers. It was decided that a fort be erected

at Green Bay, and a preliminary step was the appointment of an Indian agent, followed a few months later by the establishment of a government trading post. John Jacob Astor had, also, at the conclusion of the war, re-organized his trading interests under the title of the American Fur Company, and once more sent fleets of canoes laden with merchandise into the beaver country.* His western agent, Ramsey Crooks, was a shrewd, resolute Scotchman, thoroughly conversant with the methods of Indian trade. Astor's deputy adopted a policy certain in the end to be successful, employing as agents the men who for so long had controlled commerce in this section of country; thus gaining their powerful influence toward the advancement of his enterprise.

John Bowyer, late colonel of infantry and first United States Indian agent for the Green Bay district, reached his new post in the summer of 1815. He was a short, stoutly-built old man, with enough French

* An invoice of goods sent in 1815 to Jacques Porlier ends with "12 kegs of high wines," which was probably for use in a distillery, the stout beams of which were still to be seen thirty years ago spanning the ravine south of the R. B. Kellogg residence.

blood in his veins to render him popular among his Canadian neighbors, with whom he was soon hand in glove; yet he was able at will to assume the "grande aire" calculated to impress his troublesome wards with the importance of the mission assigned him, and the confidence reposed in him by their august father at Washington.

Judge Reaume's farm, on Dutchman's Creek, was purchased by the agent, and although few official reports remain of his administration, a record of merry evenings passed at the agency house is contained in the significant item, scattered here and there through old fur trading accounts, of so many shillings "lost at play at Colonel Bowyers."*

The first vessels to spread sail on Green Bay, brought in July, 1816, the American troops and their commander, Colonel John Miller, 3d United States Infantry. There were three boats in the fleet. On the Hunter and Mink were quartered the men. The Washington, which bore the

* In 1818 the western agencies passed under the supervision of Gov. Lewis Cass. Colonel Bowyer died in 1820, John Biddle succeeding him as agent. The salary at that time was \$125 per month.—Amer. State Papers.

commandant, was a boat of one hundred tons burden, the largest and finest on the lakes, and would have seemed of great size at any inland port in those days ; but on the waters of the bay, where no craft larger than the bateaux of the traders had floated heretofore, it appeared of imposing proportions ; and with flags flying and deck crowded with uniformed men, excited the wonder of the natives. The pilot was Augustin Grignon, who chanced to be trading at Mackinac and was pressed into the service ; the chief officer of the staunch craft, Captain Dobbins, an experienced navigator, took frequent soundings, fearing possible rocks and shoals in the unfamiliar waters.

During the second or third night out, the little fleet became separated, and the Washington put into harbor at a large island just at the entrance of the bay. This the passengers explored and christened Washington, while another not far distant received the name of Chambers, in compliment to Colonel Chambers, one of the officers in command of the troops. On the third day, nothing having been seen of the other vessels, the Washington

continued her voyage, passing through Porte de Mort, and rejoined her missing consorts at Vermilion Island. Two days later, on July 16th, all three dropped anchor in Fox River.

The troops disembarked shortly after noon on the identical spot where nearly a century before Montigny had landed his French forces. The new-comers were well aware of the repugnance felt toward them by the surrounding redskins, and had apprehended from them possible resistance, but the tents were pitched without interference and over the camp and from the masts of the vessels lying at anchor, floated, for the first time in Green Bay's history, the American flag.

Colonel Dickson's "Garde de Corps," the Menominees at Old King's Village, watched with mutterings of discontent the busy work of debarkation. Their chief, Cha-ka-cho-kama, the "Old King," who no longer took part in councils of war, was represented by Tomah, a son of Carron, an eloquent speaker.

With the resolve to mollify the Indians, if possible, by a politic bearing, Colonel Miller, on the afternoon of his arrival,

waited upon the "King," attended by Major Gratiot, Colonel Chambers, Captain Ben O'Fallon, and other officers, for the purpose of formally asking his consent to the erection of a fort. The younger chieftain received the delegation with unexpected dignity, smoked with the white men, but was slow in answering their request. Glancing up and down the shores of the beautiful river, where for so long his nation had dwelt in unmolested security, his dark eyes and expressive countenance gathered gloom; for even at that early day it was a well-known adage among the Indians, that "where the white man puts down his foot he never takes it up again." Finally, in a speech clothed in much picturesqueness of language and delivered with a majesty of demeanor that deeply impressed his auditors, Tomah gave reluctant consent, asking but one favor—that his French brothers should not be disturbed nor in any way molested.

Having gained the reluctant acquiescence of the Menominees, Colonel Miller awaited with some anxiety the action of the Winnebagoes, then encamped in their "great village" on the shores of the lake

that now bears their name. A deputation of these Indians soon appeared, headed by their chief, and remonstrated with Colonel Miller on his unwarranted invasion of their territory. He treated the embassy with courteous respect and ceremoniously requested their permission to establish a fort, adding that though armed for war his purpose was peace. The chief is reported to have briefly replied—if his object was peace he had brought more men than were necessary for council or treaty—if war, he had too few to fight. Colonel Miller assured him that there was a reserve force that he had not seen, and, inviting him down to the river bank, pointed out ten or twelve cannon, which proved a conclusive argument.

The troops spent two months in severe labor, hewing timber and sawing out lumber with a whip-saw for the barracks and houses, which they erected on the west side of Fox River, a mile from its mouth,* from plans prepared by Major Gratiot,

* For the location of the first American fort, see Report on Indian Affairs, Jedidiah Morse, D. D., page 58. Amer. State Papers, Vol. IV., p. 852, Plan of the Settlement at Green Bay, 1821. Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. III., page 281.

who, however, only remained long enough to see the work well begun, leaving its completion to the superintendence of Colonel Chambers. To the fort when finished was given the name of Howard, in memory of General Benjamin Howard, U. S. A., who was in command of the western country during the early part of the war just concluded.*

Unlike the community which the British found fifty years previous, the settlement was an attractive and pleasant one. There were numerous small farms under good cultivation scattered along the river shore, and their occupants were for the most part well pleased with the establishment of a garrison among them, as it furnished a market for their surplus grain and vegetables, and gave a new impetus to trade. Vessels began to arrive with some frequency, bringing supplies to the fort, and the people experienced in a degree the benefits of lake commerce and navigation. A decidedly hostile element in the little community, however, was the fraternity of fur traders, who had so pros-

* General Howard built Fort Clark at Peoria. He died at St. Louis, 1814.

pered under English rule, and were jealous of American interference in their commerce.

Trading posts or factories, under the management of United States government officials, had been conducted with some success at Chicago and other points favorable for Indian trade, and were regarded as a means toward gaining the confidence of the natives. Major Matthew Irwin* was placed in charge of such an establishment at Green Bay in 1815, and on the arrival of the military, quarters were assigned him at the fort. This worthy gentleman, who, from previous experience, was well versed in the duties of his office, was quite unprepared for the determined opposition that he encountered from the league formed by eastern monopolists with traders of life-long experience. According to the gossip of the time he did not secure during his incumbency of seven years, fifty dollars' worth of peltries, although the Indians were ready enough to

* During the war of 1812, Major Irwin acted as assistant commissary, and was captured at Mackinac by the English and their Indian allies.

bring him maple sugar, which proved a most unprofitable investment.*

The failure of these factories was largely due to an inferior quality of goods supplied by government, the sleazy blankets and unserviceable guns comparing unfavorably with the fine articles of English make distributed by the American Fur Company; and the refusal of factors to sell liquor, or give supplies on credit to native hunters, increased their unpopularity.† In official reports sent by him to the Indian Department, Major Irwin recounts in detail the constant annoyances to which he was subjected, and denounces Ramsay Crooks as a British agent working in the interest of that government. Green

* During the years 1815-16 no sales were made. From that time until the suspension of the factory in 1822, only 15 beaver and 18 otter skins, with a comparatively meager number of less valuable pelts were secured.—*Amer. State Papers*, Vol. VI., p. 208.

† Ramsay Crooks, giving his views as to the failure of the factory system, writes in 1822: "The factories have been furnished with goods of a kind not suitable to the Indians, unless the committee should be of opinion that men and women's coarse and fine shoes, worsted and cotton hose, tea, Glauber salts, alum and antibilious pills, are necessary to promote the comfort or restore the health of the aborigines; or that green silk, fancy ribands, and morocco slippers are indispensable to eke out the dress of our 'red sisters.'"—*Amer. State Papers*, p. 329.

Bay he describes as containing from forty-five to forty-eight families, all professing to be subjects of Great Britain, who are ruled by from ten to twelve traders, and recommends an unqualified expulsion of the latter from the place.*

The suggestion was, however, never acted upon. Astor's company continued to flourish, and the substantial homes of the traders bade defiance to the irate government official. The islanders of Michillimackinac were sharply dealt with, and a rigid examination made as to their English proclivities during the war, but it was not so with the Green Bay royalists, who, easy-going and adaptable to circumstance, were let off after taking oath that the "protection of our government being entirely withdrawn from this district of country, the inhabitants were compelled to yield to the tyranny and caprice of the reigning power and its savage allies."†

*Amer. State Papers, Vol. VI., p. 360.

†Amer. State Papers, Vol. IV., p. 711.

The form of oath as taken by the first sheriff of Brown County was as follows :

"I do solemnly swear and declare that I will favor from this time forward and support the Constitution of the United States of America,

There is no more interesting study than that of tracing in the gradual development of a new country the influences that have brought it into a state of nineteenth century civilization. In Green Bay, as in all villages where the French Canadian element predominated, there was a gayety, a carelessness for the morrow and enjoyment of the present with a noticeable lack of steady, practical purpose. Yet, although volatile and fond of ease, the better class of inhabitants were appreciative of the benefits of education, and the first crude attempt toward the establishment of schools was largely due to their influence. As early as 1791, we find that Jacques Porlier acted as tutor in the family of his employer, Pierre Grignon, but not until 1817 was the first regular school opened in Green Bay. It was taught by Monsieur and Madame Carron, educated French people who were detained in the hamlet for a few months on their journey to St. Louis. In the autumn of that year

and that I do absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all fidelity to every foreign power, State, or sovereignty, particularly to the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

“GEORGE JOHNSTON.

“25 July, year of our Lord 1821.”

the following petition, written in English and French, was circulated :

It is proposed to open a school or seminary by Thomas S. Johnson, of Onondaga St., New York, for teaching reading, writing, arithmetic and the English language, in the vicinity of Green Bay, for the space of nine months from date, opening the Schoole as soon as may be; he to be provided with a suitable house and fuel at the expense of the subscribers. He agrees to be at all times in a situation to receive his pupils at such periods as may best serve his patrons, as also to disperse them Sundays excepted; he is likewise to do all things customary for those in his profession and promote with all his means the object of his employers.

We, therefore, the undersigned, agree to pay the T. S. Johnson aforesaid the sum of five dollars to be paid at the expiration of each quarter for such tuition.

Signed,

JOHN BOWYER,

LOUIS GRIGNON,

WM. WHISTLER,

JOHN LAWE,

RICHARD PRITCHARD, etc.*

Thirty-three children from the fort and village attended the Green Bay "Seminary," but the inborn dislike toward everything American asserted itself even among these youngsters. The oddly dressed little natives who were brought across the river each morning for the

* Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. XII.

day's schooling, taunted their companions from the garrison with being Bostonians, or Yankees, and fierce squabbles were often the result. This experiment in education, not proving successful, was relinquished at the expiration of a few months, and no further attempt made in this direction for some years.

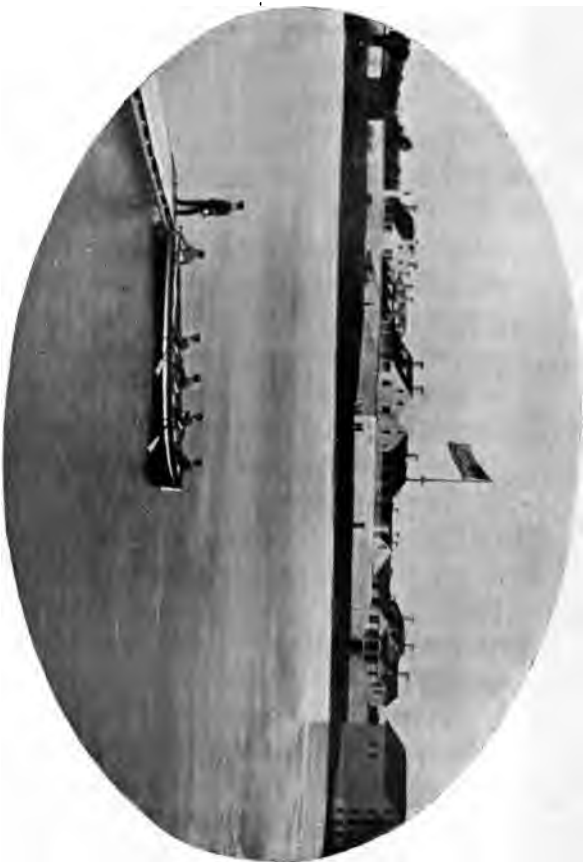
A change almost imperceptible at the time was taking place, and the slow-moving current of life in the little *voyageur* hamlet was quickened by the more progressive spirit of the Atlantic states. Each sailing vessel now brought settlers from the east, foremost among them being Robert Irwin, Jr., in 1817; and two years later Daniel Whitney, of New Hampshire, who, having visited the Bay in 1816, was favorably impressed with its desirability as a place for trade. In 1822-23, Robert Irwin, Sr., and his younger son, Alexander, also took up their residence in Green Bay. Each of these men at once took a prominent place in the mercantile and social life of the town, and through all subsequent years continued to be ranked among its best citizens. At about the same time came Ebenezer Childs and the

Dickinson brothers, Joseph and William, sturdy pioneers, and Albert G. Ellis, eminent as an early educator, and afterward Surveyor General of the new Territory of Wisconsin.

The homes of the new-comers were built on that fair and smiling slope where to-day lies the Town of Allouez, commanding a broad sweep of river, and a glimpse of the blue, misty bay in the distance. Eastward a tangle of dark forest stretched unbroken to the mysterious "Manitou"—a stream with which so many grim legends were associated, that it was dreaded by the Indians and the superstitious among the habitants.*

Prominent in the landscape, guarding the entrance to Fox River, was Fort Howard with its stockade of timber thirty feet high, enclosing barracks which faced three sides of a quadrangle. This formed a fine parade ground. There were block houses, mounting guns at the angles, and separate quarters for the commanding officer; houses for

*The Indians in canoeing on this river always propitiated the spirit that haunted it by casting overboard an offering of tobacco.



Fort Howard in 1851.

the surgeon and quartermaster being constructed outside the pickets.*

The garrison formed a nucleus, around which gathered all that was best in the social life of the little town. Colonel Miller was succeeded in command by Major Zachary Taylor, famous in after years as General-in-Chief of the army during the early part of the Mexican war, and later as President of the United States. When stationed at Fort Howard, his family consisted of his wife and three children, among them the little daughter, Knox, afterward the first wife of Jefferson Davis, to whom she was married, against the wishes of her parents, when he was a young lieutenant and she only seventeen. The major's quarters were handsomely furnished, and as complete in their appointments as was possible in a frontier post of that period, some pieces of rare old furniture and china sold on the removal of the family to Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien being yet in the possession of early settlers.

In 1819, Colonel Joseph Lee Smith assumed command of the garrison, and at

*Schoolcraft's Journal, 1821.

once expressed dissatisfaction with the site selected for the fort by Major Gratiot. After persistent importunity, in 1820 he received permission to remove the troops three miles farther up the river on the east side, and half a mile from the shore, assigning as reason for the change, the low, sandy situation of Fort Howard, whereas his choice would command a broader outlook and better means of defense. Colonel Smith determined to build permanent fortifications at this point, and soldiers were detailed to quarry stone for the purpose at Des Peres Rapids, near the site of the old mission of St. Francis Xavier. The removal was, however, only temporary, for after two years of occupancy Camp Smith was condemned as undesirable for a military post, and its garrison returned to their old quarters at Fort Howard.

While the troops were stationed at Camp Smith (1820 to 1822), there had been drawn to the neighborhood all the usual following of a camp. Between the stockade and river a number of log trading cabins were built, half in and half out of the bank, the logs smoothed off on the inside and chinked with mud, which rendered them warm and com-

fortable during the long, severe winter. That part of the cabin devoted to family use, often not more than one room, was furnished with primitive simplicity: Indian mats covered the floor, while the scanty furniture was usually put together by the village carpenter. A slight partition divided this living room from the shop, where was displayed a heterogeneous assortment of dry goods, groceries, rude farming implements, and household utensils; while somewhere in the rear, always on tap, were barrels of rum and whisky. The stock of merchandise was not large, yet, from such as it was, the village belle and officer's wife had to make selections, carrying home their purchases tied in a bit of calico, or a red cotton bandana purchased for the purpose, for wrapping paper was unknown. These "shanties," as they were called, ultimately gave name to the group of houses that in time sprang up around the spot, and the historic soubriquet of Shantytown still clings to the place, despite all efforts made to change it for the more aristocratic Menomineeville or Bellevue.

There was no clergyman of any denomination in the region during this

period, and Sunday was spent by the villagers in exchanging visits; while the military furnished its quota of gayety in martial music, parades, or marching back and forth between the camps, to the sound of fife and drum. Martial law prohibited the sale of liquor to enlisted men, and various were the devices resorted to for smuggling intoxicants into the barracks. Soldiers' wives frequently procured the coveted drink by slipping canteens into large tin buckets and covering the top with maple sugar, which was innocently displayed to the challenging sentry and allowed to pass.

Here, as in all garrison towns in those early days, life wagged merrily enough; the privates passing their time between hard work and rough recreation, the officers dancing with the pretty girls of Shantytown at the informal parties of the settlement, or entertaining the residents at breakfast or dinner, varied by an occasional ball. There was little else to relieve the tedium of the long interval of more than half the year, when Green Bay was almost entirely cut off from the civilized world; when the mail arrived from Detroit only twice in

six months, carried by a soldier and delivered at the fort, where it was handed over to the quartermaster for distribution. The mail carrier was necessarily a man of tough fibre and strong nerve, for, burdened as he was with his pack, mail pouch, and loaded musket, he was forced to keep on his feet day and night, wading through snow so deep at times as to require snowshoes. When overcome with sleep he wrapped himself in his blanket and lay down in a snow-bank, taking such rest as he could with the wolves howling around him.

Moses Hardwick, a discharged soldier, commenced carrying the mail in 1817, and for seven winters tramped the weary way between Green Bay and Detroit.* In 1824, a private route was established between Green Bay and Fort Wayne, a distance of three hundred miles, the mail being delivered once a month at an annual expense of \$86.†

The country was in a wild, unsettled state; acts of violence were frequent, al-

*In 1822, Robert Irwin, Jr., was appointed postmaster at Green Bay, and held the position for many years.

†Amer. State Papers, Vol. XV., p. 136.

though summary punishment was usually inflicted upon the offender. The enlisted soldiers at the fort were often desperate characters, and officers were in danger of assassination by their own men in revenge for arbitrary punishment, as well as from the suspicion and enmity of the Indians. In the summer of 1821, the post surgeon, William S. Madison, was shot and instantly killed near the Manitowoc River, by a Chippewa Indian concealed in the brush. The murderer was captured, taken to Detroit, and tried at the September term of the Supreme Court. His counsel, James D. Doty, denied the jurisdiction of the court, alleging that the murder was committed in a district of country to which the Indian title had not been extinguished, and therefore the United States could not take cognizance of the crime, for the Chippewa and Winnebago nations both being sovereign and independent, exercised exclusive jurisdiction within their respective territorial limits; further, he argued that the American government, by repeated treaties with the Indians, had acknowledged that its dominion extended no further than as actual owners of the soil by pur-

chase from the savages; that the Indians must be either citizens of the United States, or foreigners; yet were evidently not considered citizens by our government, the privileges of our laws and institutions not being extended to them, nor had any act of theirs been construed as treason or rebellion. He said they had been regarded by French, English, and American governments as allies, and were not a conquered people.* Various other arguments were urged by the brilliant young advocate, but his plea was overruled by the court, and Ketauka sentenced to be hung at Green Bay, on December 21st, 1821. The sentence was executed at the appointed time and place.

With American occupation came the adjustment of land claims; for in the successive changes of government there had been express stipulation that the Canadian habitants should not be disturbed in their rights and privileges. As emigration turned westward, however, their farms, embracing the finest sites for building or cultivation, became the cause of

*September Term of Supreme Court, Ketauka's Case.

much dispute, and the necessity arose for fixing permanently the boundaries of ownership. Investigation of the claims at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien was begun in the fall of 1820, by Isaac Lee, a specially-appointed government commissioner. Mr. Lee reached the Bay in August, and the day after his arrival went from house to house stating the object of his coming, and that all claims should be attended to on his return from the Prairie, whither he was then bound. During the interim, much discussion was indulged in by the old-time land-owners, who, careless like all Canadians in obtaining legal land titles, must of necessity prove their right of possession by verbal testimony only, as they were able to produce few deeds made out in proper form. The winter was spent by Commissioner Lee in hearing testimony, seeking to determine boundaries, and meeting in familiar intercourse the kindly, simple, hospitable people, who so won upon him that the official report, which recommended that all the claims be allowed, reads like a page from the story of Acadia.

“Since their ancestors were cut off, by the

treaty which gave the Canadas to the English, from all intercourse with the parent country, the people, both of Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, have been left until within a few years quite isolated, almost without any government but their own. Ignorance of their civil rights, carelessness of their land titles, docility, habitual hospitality, cheerful submission to the requisitions of any government that may be set over them, are their universal characteristics. With those who know them the quiet surrender of their fields and houses upon the demand of those who come ostensibly clothed with authority would constitute no evidence of the illegality of their titles, or the weakness of their claims." Many of the claims were, however, disallowed, the time of occupancy having been less than was required by law, which was an exclusive and individual possession from July, 1796, to March, 1807. Confirmation to claimants was also denied when the lands under dispute had been immemorially occupied by the villagers in common, or as a common, where their cattle were herded, or crops sufficient to supply the village harvested.*

*Amer. State Papers, Vol. IV., pp. 863-4.

The old French claims hung fire for many years, and were passed down through many generations, and the names—Beaupré, La Rose,* Guardipier—still recall the days when the land was divided off by arpents, and boundary lines were marked by trees and indentations in the river shore, rather than by the surveyor's stake.

Great was the excitement at Green Bay in 1821, when a steamboat first rounded



Old Anchor, found in Fox River.

Grassy Island and dropped anchor in Fox River: a long, narrow, flimsily-built craft,

*The La Rose claim took in Ashwaubenon Creek. For the legend connected with this spot see Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. XI., pp. 234-7.

bearing upon her side the legend, "Walk-in-the-Water," and commanded by Captain Allen. Doubtless the townfolk thought the days of travel in birch canoes at an end, but, only a year after, the unsubstantial steamer was wrecked on Lake Erie, and the people were fain to content themselves for many years longer with the more primitive schooner or bateau.

Travel toward the west had increased greatly, and as a military station and important fur trading point the little river town was frequently a stopping place for visitors of note during the brief, bright summer.* On the 7th of July, 1820, the United States cutter "Dallas" brought Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D. D., of New Haven, commissioned by President Monroe to make a report on the condition of the western tribes, in view of the proposed removal to the west of the New York Indians.

One month later a government exploring party, after ninety days of wearisome

*A letter of 1817 introduces to John Lawe, Lieutenant Bayfield, Royal Navy; Mr. Collins, Midshipman, and Lieutenant Reny, members of the Geographical Survey.

travel from Detroit by way of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, arrived at Green Bay.* The expedition was led by Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, which at that time embraced the same wide domain over which Nicolas Perrot held sway under commission of De la Barre one hundred and fifty years before. Officers and civilians were included in the party, and the fine canoes, made especially for their use, were well packed with all that could make life endurable on a protracted and fatiguing trip of this description. Henry R. Schoolcraft, was of the number, as mineralogist, and when the Rapides des Peres were passed and the canoes floated in smooth water on the lower Fox, the historian was impressed with the beauty of the scene and wrote in his journal:

“The settlement of Green Bay commences at the little Kakalin, twelve miles above the fort, and is very compact from

* Leaving Detroit they took their way down the St. Clair River across Lake Huron to Michilimackinac. Then passing through the Sault St. Marie to Lake Superior, which they explored to its western limit, they paddled up the St. Louis River and portaged across a distance of six miles to the little stream connecting with Sandy Lake and the Mississippi. Map, Schoolcraft's Journal, 1821.

the Rock (Des Peres) rapids. Here we are first presented with a view of the fort, and nothing can exceed the beauty of the intermediate country, chequered as it is with farm houses, fences, cultivated fields, the broad expanse of the river, the bannered masts of the vessels in the distant bay, and the warlike array of military barracks, camps and parades. This scene burst suddenly into view, and no combination of objects could be more happily arranged after our long sojournment in the wilderness."

And so, amid the boom of cannon and stirring strains from the garrison band, the canoes were brought to a landing, and the distinguished party, headed by his Excellency, the Governor, ascended the green embankment to the fort, where they were welcomed by Captain William Whistler, commandant in charge during the temporary absence of Colonel Joseph L. Smith.*

*Joseph Lee Smith was the father of Ephraim Kirby Smith, who was stationed at Fort Howard at different times and was killed in the Mexican war; and of Edmund Kirby Smith, who resigned from the U. S. Army to join the Confederate service, was promoted to the rank of general, and died in 1893.

CHAPTER VII.

A Transition Period.

The boundary lines by which the country west of the great lakes was defined were, up to 1818, of the vaguest description, and the handful of white settlers, scattered from Michillimackinac to the Mississippi, as independent of territorial laws and government as were the savages themselves. The earliest known map of Lake Michigan and its western inlet, Green Bay, made from personal observation, was published as accompaniment to the writings of Father Dablon in the Jesuit Relations of 1670-71, and seems marvelously accurate in comparison with other maps of that day. On the "Carte d'un tres grand pays entre le Nouveau Mexique et la mer glaciale," drawn by Hennepin, dedicated by him to William III., of England, and published in 1697, the name, Green Bay, first appears. In tolerably correct form the Baye des Puans is traced, while the whole of the peninsula extending from the mouth of Fox River

to Porte de Mort is included under the general name of Baye Verte.*

The fertile valley of the Fox, so rich in all that could delight the savage heart, was claimed successively by Spain, France and England ; at one time belonged to the Province of Louisiana ; † in 1778 appertained to the State of Virginia as part of its conquered territory, and in 1787 was included in that vast stretch of country set off west of the Ohio River, and known as the Northwest Territory. In 1800 the Green Bay settlement became the property of the new Territory of Indiana, and nine years later was annexed to Illinois, its county-seat, however, remaining at Vincennes. ‡ When Illinois became a state in 1818 her boundaries were cut down to the present limits, and Green Bay, with its fifty dwelling houses and military garrison, was given to the Territory of Michigan.

On the 26th of October, 1818, Brown County was organized with the following boundaries : North and east by the County

*Winsor's Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America, Vol. IV.

†History of Louisiana, 1763.

‡Thwaites's Story of Wisconsin, pp. 109, 195.

of Michillimackinac and the western boundary of Michigan Territory * as the latter was established by the act of Congress passed January 11, 1805, when Indiana was divided into two separate governments; south by the states of Indiana and Illinois, and west by a line drawn due north from the northern limit of the State of Illinois through the middle of the portage between the Fox and "Ouissin" Rivers to the County of Michillimackinac.† The new county received its name in honor of Major-General Jacob Brown, Commander-in-chief of the United States Army.

The first civil appointments under United States authority were made by Governor Cass on October 27th, 1818,—Matthew Irwin, Chief Justice, Commissioner and Judge of Probate; Charles Reaume, Associate Justice and Justice of the Peace; John Bowyer, Commissioner; Robert Irwin, Jr., Clerk; George Johnston, Sheriff. Major Irwin did not long remain in office, the constant friction between him and the traders making him un-

* This line followed closely the present state line of Michigan.—Henry S. Baird, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, Vol. IV., p. 198.

† *Territorial Laws of Michigan*, Vol. I., p. 327.

popular with the Canadian inhabitants; while Judge Reaume's peculiar methods of arbitration were much ridiculed by the Yankees, and of the first American settlers each has his jest at the expense of the quaint old man. Soon after the return of Governor Cass to Detroit, in 1820, another commission reached Green Bay, naming Jacques Porlier as Chief Justice of the county court, with John Lawe as Assistant Judge. This selection gave general satisfaction, both appointees being highly esteemed in the community.

The "Coutume de Paris," heretofore in use throughout the "Province of Upper Canada," was not formally annulled until the year 1821,* when it was superseded by the Laws of Michigan Territory, and one of the first acts of Judge Porlier was to patiently translate into French for his own use, the new code, for, although able to read English, he could speak only his native tongue. The American colonists were prone to make merry when the judge was called upon to unite in marriage two of their number. With conscientious exactitude he would read the entire service in

*Territorial Laws of Michigan, Vol. I.

English, though not one word could be understood, excepting the finale, that the pair were married according to the laws of the United States.

From this time forward, Green Bay required no less than three justices and a county judge to adjust the differences arising from the new and changing order of things. None of them were lawyers, and their jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, was limited;* they were obliged to enter upon the duties of their several offices without formulas to refer to, or precedents of proceedings, and it is not surprising that the legal documents of that day are without much form and the court records entirely missing.† The Supreme Court of Michigan, consisting of three judges, held its sessions semi-annually at Detroit; thither criminals were conveyed for trial, and controversies involving large amounts were there adjudicated.‡

*Recollections of Henry S. Baird, in Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. IV., p. 209.

†John H. Lockwood, in Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. II.

‡Recollections of Henry S. Baird, in Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. IV., p. 209.

The first court held in Brown County of

On February 1st, 1823, James Duane Doty was appointed additional Judge for the Territory of Michigan, with a yearly salary of twelve hundred dollars; his jurisdiction to extend over the counties of Mackinac, Brown and Crawford. This included all of Michigan not embraced in the lower peninsula; the entire tract afterward comprised in the State of Wisconsin; and the country north of the St. Croix River, and east of the Mississippi to latitude 49°, now under the government of Minnesota.

The first term of the newly-organized court was held at Mackinac in July, 1823, Judge Doty being at that time just twenty-three years of age. He was a man of striking presence, so magnetic in conversation that he carried his listeners with him, and was considered a dangerous rival by his political opponents.

Under Doty's administration the civil authority promptly rose to the first dignity. He procured the establishment of

which any record is preserved was a special session of the County Court, July 12th, 1824, Jacques Porlier, Chief Justice; John Lawe and Henry Brevoort, Associates.—Address of M. L. Martin before State Hist. Society 1851.

the County Seat at Shantytown, or, more properly, Menomineeville, where a court house, which served also as a jail, was erected on the river bank.* It was an ordinary log cabin, and here the first court convened on October 4th, 1824, the Grand Jury holding its deliberations in the court-room. The prosecuting attorney was Henry S. Baird, who, the year previous, had settled at the Bay, was admitted to the bar at this term of court, and was the first lawyer to practice west of Lake Michigan.

This first session of the United States Circuit Court was a memorable one; for Judge Doty at that time charged the grand jury to make special inquiry in relation to persons living with Indian wives to whom they had not been married according to church or civil law. Thirty-six bills of indictment were brought in, and the offenders notified that they must be married in proper form and produce certificate of the fact or stand a trial.†

*This building stood west of the line of large poplar trees at the entrance to the Kellogg stock farm.

†Child's Recollections. Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. IV., p. 161. Address of M. L. Martin, 1851.

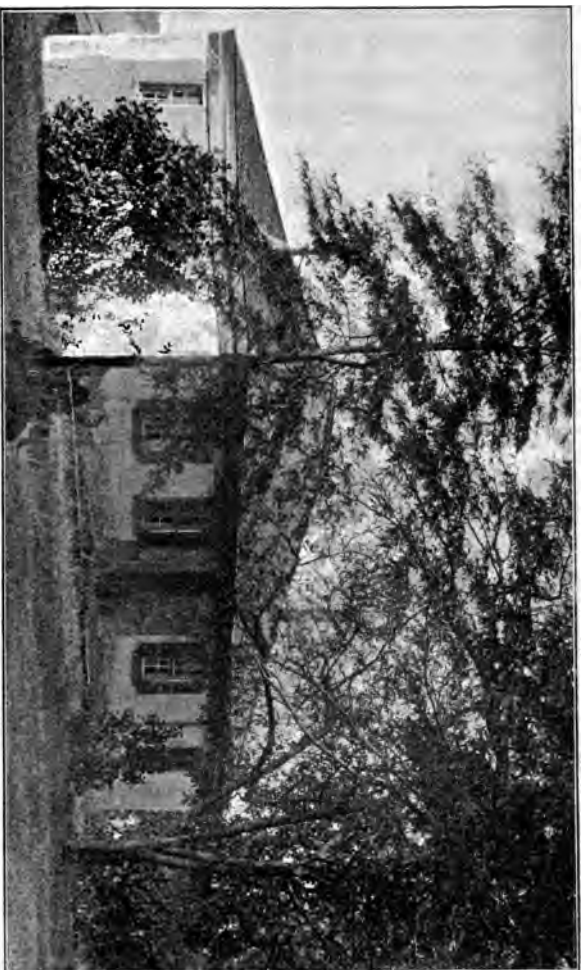
This decisive action on the part of the court toward the improvement in moral tone of the community, although in the end salutary, created at the time intense indignation among the habitants, and was even severely censured by newcomers. Marriages entered into according to the Indian custom before witnesses, were now declared invalid, and the children of such unions illegitimate. Much litigation grew out of this decree in succeeding years, and when brought to the test, many of these contracts were pronounced legal by decision of the courts.

Until superseded by David Irvin, in 1832, Doty continued to discharge his onerous duties. It was not easy to inaugurate law and order in this far-away district; to create sheriffs, clerks, and jurors out of half-breeds, Indian traders, and *voyageurs*; but tact, patience, and perseverance prevailed, and good government gradually emerged from this chaotic transition period.

Judge Doty took up his residence at Menomineeville, and in 1825 built the first frame house seen in this section of country: a large, two-story structure, afterwards

purchased (1827) by government for an Indian agency house, and occupied by Major Henry B. Brevoort, third appointee to the office. Still another style of architecture attempted by the Judge at this time was the queer stuccoed dwelling built partly into the side hill, just north of his first residence, long called the Jones place, where he lived a number of years. In 1827 he induced his young cousin, Morgan L. Martin, to migrate westward and open a law office in the village.

Doty's successor, David Irvin, was a stately Virginia gentleman, with many whims and peculiarities, as learned in the knowledge of dogs and horses as in the law, yet attentive to duty, and without intrigue or deception. It was said by the wags, that in order to win a case before the Judge, one must praise his horse, Pedro, and dog, York. During Judge Irvin's term of office, he made his home in Virginia or Ohio, when not holding court, and it was questioned whether a non-resident could legally retain so responsible an office in the Territory. The people of Green Bay petitioned President Jackson to make another appointment, but the



Judge Doty's Residence at Shantytown.

petition was not recognized and Irvin held the judgeship until the formation of Wisconsin Territory.*

Mercantile interests of the town, during its first decade, continued to center in the peltry traffic, Americans as well as Creoles finding it to their profit to engage in the pursuit. The early traders, Lawe, Grignon, and Jacques Porlier, although agents of the American Fur Company, had worked independently of each other until in 1821 a co-partnership was formed by advice of Ramsay Crooks, who promised to aid the firm by all means possible. Goods furnished by the larger corporation were brought from Mackinac, and their value returned in peltries, together with a detailed statement of the amount and distribution of property received.

The custom of giving credits to Indians dated back to the days of Nicolas Perrot, but the Astor Company, while continuing the practice, systematized trade to a remarkable degree. The amount to which an In-

* In the Probate Court John Lawe held office from 1823 to 1829, when Alex. J. Irwin was appointed register of probate. In 1838 the office was held by Charles C. P. Arndt.—Minute Book Brown County Court.

dian hunter was trusted by the trader was from forty to fifty dollars at cost price, upon which a gain of about one hundred per cent. was expected, so that the annual amount brought in by the hunter to pay his credits, should have been between eighty and one hundred dollars in value.* Utmost exactness was required of those in the company's employ; the French traders not infrequently receiving back their carefully-prepared reports with the curt request that they be made more intelligible, as it would be impossible in their present shape to close the accounts in the company's books.

Individually, the traders were already heavily in debt to the corporation for goods purchased in preceding years, and matters did not improve under the new arrangement. Accustomed to the old, careless methods of trade, the firm was no match for the keen, scheming capitalists who gradually gained possession of the broad acres afterward included in the plat of Astor. Much Green Bay property belonging to the French traders was swallowed up

*Turner's "Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin," p. 89.

by the great monopoly, and land in Canada, deeded to Charles de Langlade by the English government, was also absorbed; until in 1835, Ramsay Crooks writes that the last of the Canadian inheritance has been handed over to the American Fur Company.*

At this time, and for years after, John Lawe held in many respects foremost rank among the colonists. A large hospitality, generous mode of living, and almost imperial sway over the Indians, gave him high popularity and influence. "His home, a large one-story building, with many additions, stood near the river, and a path led from it through the grass to the beach. The ceilings were very low and the windows small, so small that when the Indians came peering in, the room was almost darkened.† An indescribable air of mystery hung over the place, there was a dreamy appearance about the whole. Then all around the house and store stood Indians waiting to trade off their peltries. One

*MS. letter of Ramsay Crooks to M. L. Martin

†Mrs. Baird, "Contes du Temps passé," in the *Green Bay Gazette*, 1887. Judge Lawe's house stood just north of D. H. Grignon's residence, corner of Jefferson and Porlier Streets.

might sit in that house and imagine all sorts of things not likely to happen.”

North of Judge Lawe's residence, close to the water's edge, stood the roomy log trading house, where were the great scales used in weighing peltry packs—the platforms fully five feet square, suspended by heavy iron chains, and so nicely adjusted as to give exact weight from a half pound up to several hundred.

These buildings, with the oncs occupied by descendants of the De Langlade family, at that time (1821) composed the whole of Green Bay proper.

Starting at the Langlade residence and following closely the river shore, ran the well-worn Indian trail, leading to the lower country, and facing upon this a school-house* was erected in 1821, John Baptiste Jacobs being installed as teacher. He was followed by Mr. Douglas, a well-educated employé of the American Fur Company. In March, 1823, Amos Holton, a lawyer from the East, assumed charge of the school. He had acted as counsel in the trial of a soldier who had assassinated his

*This school house stood a few rods southwest of Mrs. M. L. Martin's residence.

superior officer, and being winter-bound at the Bay, with an abundance of leisure at his disposal, agreed to teach for one quarter, comprising a period of twelve weeks, the price of tuition to be four dollars per capita. The small log school-room, lighted by its one window, was furnished with benches alone—desks being an undreamed-of luxury—and the curriculum adopted most limited, yet the dominie was a gentleman, and, according to the testimony of a contemporary, taught his pupils polite manners as well as the rudiments of learning. Soon afterwards this school-house was abandoned for a building* larger and more accessible to the youth of Shantytown, and Captain Daniel Curtis, an ex-army officer, became schoolmaster.† He reports the “Schollars” as being destitute of books, adding that “three dozen spelling books and six Murray’s grammars will be necessary, and the sooner we are provided with them the

*This school-house stood near the present residence of Thomas McLean.

†Captain Curtis’s daughter Irene married General Rucker, U. S. A., and their daughter became the wife of General Philip H. Sheridan. Mrs. Curtis was killed by lightning, while living in the barracks at Camp Smith.

better for the school generally." Curtis taught for about a year, after which A. G. Ellis took the school for a short time.

At Fort Howard, Colonel Smith had been succeeded, in 1821, by Colonel Ninian Pinkney, and during his command the first treaties were concluded for purchase of land from the Menominees and Winnebagoes, preparatory to the removal of the New York Indians, the documents being signed, sealed, and delivered in his presence.* He in turn was superseded by Colonel John McNeil,† a strict disciplinarian, yet fond of social enjoyment. Under his rule a fine mess-room was constructed, sixty feet in length, with smaller rooms adjoining. These became known as the assembly rooms, and were formally opened on December 18th, 1822, with a large dancing party.

The holiday season, always celebrated with much festivity by the habitants, was this year especially gay, Colonel McNeil contributing his share to the general merriment by the issue of invitations for a dinner and ball. The long table was laid for one hundred guests, and the menu, to

* Articles of Treaty made at Green Bay, 1821.

† A brother-in-law of President Pierce.

which they sat down at four o'clock, included all varieties of fish for which the waters of the bay were famous, with venison, bear's meat, porcupine, and other game then in season. At six o'clock the guests rose from table and dancing began, lasting until the early hours of the morning.

A masquerading party of the present day is not more *bizarre* in costume than was that company assembled in the soft glow of the candlelight; the scant skirt short, full waist, and enormous sleeves of New York fashion, contrasting oddly with the broadcloth petticoat and moccasins of the native belle; yet the grace and vivacity of the Creole girls, to which were added the accomplishments gained in Canadian convents, made them often outshine the ladies in garrison.

An invitation for one of these assemblies is addressed to "Reverend Mr. Williams" and reads as follows:

The gentlemen of the Mess ask the honour of the Rev'd Mr. Williams's company at a ball to be held at the Mess House, on the evening of the 8th inst.

CAPT. I. S. NELSON,

LIEUT. H. H. LORING,

LIEUT. A. M. WRIGHT,

FORT HOWARD, Jan'y, 1823.

Managers.

Private theatricals were also suggested by the commandant, a first ambitious attempt being made in the old English comedy, "She Stoops to Conquer." There was no scenery, except such as could be improvised, but the performance was highly appreciated, the young lieutenants, Loring and Hunt, scoring a great success—one in the double role of Mrs. Hardcastle and the Squire, the other as the fascinating Miss Hardcastle.

In 1824, General Hugh Brady, a brave officer and gallant gentleman, succeeded to the command. He had won distinction in the battles of Chippewa and Niagara, a wound received in the latter engagement having left him with a permanent lameness. Soldierly and somewhat austere in bearing, the general yet entered with youthful zest into the gayeties of fort life, often expressing admiration for the ladies and comparing them to ships under full sail as they moved in stately dignity through the contra dance, passing down the long avenue of dancers to such old-time tunes as "Monie Musk," "Two Sisters," "Two Dollars in My Pocket," and "Cheat the Lady."

A post school had been organized under Colonel McNeil, and A. G. Ellis engaged as teacher. Through the active efforts of General Brady a building was erected for the purpose and the attendance increased to fifty pupils, a limited number of citizens' children being received with those from the fort. Military discipline was observed; at three in the afternoon the officer of the day made a visit of inspection; while at the Friday resumé of study, General Brady and staff were present, listened to the exercises, and examined the reports.

At the expiration of a year General Brady gave place to Major William Whistler,* who was identified with Fort Howard for a longer period than any other officer, and with his large family of beautiful daughters added much to the social pleasures of garrison life.

Up to 1825 there had been no public means provided for crossing Fox River. In June of that year, John P. Arndt, a Pennsylvanian of good, old Dutch family, who had come to the West in 1823, took

*Whistler was captain under Col. Pinkney, and had but recently been promoted to the rank of Major when placed in command.

out a license to maintain a ferry some distance south of the fort. Military law, however, had for so long governed the community that a license given by civil authority was not recognized by Major Whistler, who issued an order forbidding any passenger to land on the west shore without first obtaining a permit from the commanding officer.* A guard was stationed to enforce compliance, and several persons attempting to cross were arrested and put to much inconvenience. At last Arndt himself, to end the trouble, crossed, was seized as he had anticipated, and carried to the fort. When released he brought suit against Major Whistler for false imprisonment, and obtained judgment of fifty dollars and costs: the court ruling that Fox River was a public highway, on which a ferry could be run at any point without military interference. The guard was withdrawn, and for years a ferry boat was rowed from Point Pleasant, where stood Judge Arndt's residence, to the opposite shore.

* The military reservation included a tract of land opposite Judge Arndt's house.

One of Green Bay's early Probate Judges,* Arndt, also kept the village inn, remodeled from the old De Langlade house. It was constructed of square hewn logs, so nicely adjusted that it seemed one solid block, with never a touch of paint, stucco or whitewash, but always retaining its soft gray color, so mellow and restful to the eye. Barely a story and a half high, its length was quite a hundred feet. Over the door of the main entrance was a sort of hatchment, which caught the first morning sunlight as it glimmered through a line of luxuriant lilac shrubs, that stretched along the dwelling's entire front. There was no hall or vestibule, the outside door opening direct to one of the living rooms. On the western side a long, low-roofed piazza extended the length of the main building, and sitting under its pleasant shadow one could see all that was passing between fort and village, for traffic and pleasure alike took the river highway. In the center a door opened to the one large apartment of the house, used as parlor or reception-room,

*1842 and several terms afterwards.—Minute Book, Brown County Court: Brown County, 1824 to 1857.

plainly furnished in old-fashioned style ; a lounge covered with bright chintz, a generous-sized sideboard, a two-story, cast-iron, Canadian stove, a mirror hung over a small table. From the adjoining dining-room, which occupied the very center of the building, an enclosed stairway led to the low-ceilinged upper story. There were queer little nooks, crannies and dusky passageways that one was obliged to travel through in reaching the most attractive part of the dwelling, the great, generous kitchen, rallying point alike for visitors and family. So many were the windows on the river side that when a clear sunset shown on the liliputian panes it gave the impression of being entirely made of glass. An immense fire-place and huge brick oven nearly filled the south end of the room, while larders, store-rooms, and mysterious little pantries were here, there and everywhere. No swinging crane or crooked pot hooks ever held more delicious menus for the inner man, nor oven a richer store of snowy loaves ; for the mistress of this old-time hostelry inherited all the thrifty instincts and excellent housewifery of her Holland ancestors.

In those good old days, not to be a notable provider and *chef de cuisine* was considered a serious misfortune, for unexpected guests came often, trained servants were not to be had, and not only were dainties for the table prepared by the house-mistress, but she must be an adept as well in the plainer branches of culinary skill. The Indians were the purveyors of the settlement, bringing to the door all sorts of fish and wild game. Each French family had its own dusky retainers, who idled about the premises and partook of the good cheer as in feudal times.

Although the white population was far outnumbered by savages, no fear was ever entertained of treachery, but in 1827 trouble arose among the Winnebagoes which threatened serious consequences. A feeling of discontent had for some time been growing among the various tribes; Sacs and Foxes bitterly resented the occupation by whites of the rich mineral lands about Galena; while the Winnebagoes, ever a capricious, mischief-brewing people, whose dissatisfaction with the provisions of a treaty made at Prairie du Chien two years before had been rankling in their

restless minds, only required slight provocation for a hostile outbreak. This was furnished in the reported murder of two Winnebago prisoners by the soldiers at Fort Snelling. A council was straightway called, and Red Bird, a young chief of some local celebrity, universally trusted by the pioneers of the region, was selected with two other braves to carry out a scheme of revenge in accordance with the savage code of justice.

The first scalps were taken on the outskirts of the Prairie, at the cabin of a half-breed squatter, where the Indians, with customary craft, broke bread with their unsuspecting victims in apparent friendship, then, when opportunity offered, swiftly and stealthily executed their merciless purpose. The mother, with one child, escaped and flying to the village, rehearsed the tragedy, identifying the murderers, while these last, adorned with the gory prizes so treacherously gained, sought the remainder of their band, which was encamped on the Mississippi River. This cruel deed was only the preliminary to other outrages, which spread a panic throughout the threatened district. Ac-

tive preparations were made by the settlers for defense; Indian runners were dispatched across country to summon military aid from Fort Snelling and Fort Howard, and as the latter post was but slenderly garrisoned, the commandant, Major Whistler, called upon the citizens for assistance. William Dickinson and Ebenezer Childs promptly recruited a company from the Stockbridge and Oneida Indians; the volunteer militia was mustered in, with George Johnston as captain, and all, under the command of Major Whistler, started for the scene of action.

En route a council was held at *Butte des Morts*, when the Winnebagoes were threatened with annihilation should they refuse to give up Red Bird and his accomplices to justice. Notification was sent to scattered bands of the offending tribe, and Whistler moved on, again encamping at the Fox-Wisconsin portage. On the day following, a squad of thirty warriors was seen approaching the camp. In their midst walked Red Bird bearing a flag of truce, singing in weird, melancholy cadence, his death song. His dress was of soft, white doeskin, jacket and leggings or-

namented with fringe of the same material, enriched with blue beads. Each shoulder was decorated with the brilliant feathers of the red bird, while collar and armlets worked in blue and white wampum completed the picturesque costume. The young chief bore himself proudly, with no consciousness of wrong-doing. Advancing toward Major Whistler, he stooped, and taking in his hand some dust from the plain, with dramatic action cast it from him, saying, "I have given away my life like that; I would not take it back; it is gone." Then marching briskly up to the commander, breast to breast, he surrendered and was taken in charge by a file of men, his request that he should not be put in irons being respected. Some months later, when a fatal epidemic attacked the prison in which he was confined, Red Bird was among its victims.*

But the Indians in the vicinity of Green Bay were tractable, requiring no stern military discipline to keep them in order. Indeed, life at Fort Howard seems to have been made up of dancing, card playing, and

*Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. V., p. 178.

flirtation, rather than warlike adventure, and no doubt the younger officers, wearied with months of inaction, often longed for the call of "Boots and Saddles," and the chance to win their spurs in the field.

The officer who succeeded Major Whistler was a man whose name is associated with many acts of cruelty—Major David E. Twiggs. Although a brave officer and afterward advanced by his government to the rank of general, his brutality caused him to be generally detested by the soldiers of his command. One of these, William Prestige, resolving to put an end to the tyranny, stole into the commandant's apartment one day while he was sleeping, intending to put a bullet through his brain. The gun missed fire, Twiggs sprang up, and with a blow laid the man senseless upon the floor. For many months daily torture was inflicted upon the unhappy assassin, who was purposely kept from trial in order that he might serve as an example to other unruly subordinates. When Prestige's term of enlistment expired he was handed over to the civil authorities, tried and convicted. Morgan L. Martin, acting district attorney,

and others, who thought the man had suffered sufficiently, presented his case to President Adams, who granted him a pardon. In the summer of 1828 Twiggs was transferred with his command to the Portage, where he superintended the erection of Fort Winnebago. His place was filled by Colonel Wm. Lawrence, who with four companies of the Fifth United States Infantry, came by boat from St. Louis, and so high was the water that season that the loaded barges floated easily across the dividing strip between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers.*

The new corps of officers found immediate and great favor with the citizens, and in the summer after their arrival a grand ball was given, as a culmination to the season's gayety. In a humorous fashion, more than fifty years subsequent, a description of the haps and mishaps attendant on this entertainment was given by Mrs. Bristol, daughter of Major Henry B. Brevoort, at that time Indian Agent.

*Morgan L. Martin, in his *Recollections*, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XI., says that this first suggested to him the idea of connecting the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, thus forming a highway for large vessels to the Mississippi.

Marie Brevoort was an exceedingly beautiful girl, wild as a fawn, tall and graceful, and over her the Major kept strict watch and ward, as an old burgomaster should. Courteous and affable in a general way, he took on a crusty, gruff manner with any young soldier or civilian who ventured polite advances to this cherished fraulein. Brave Lieutenant Kirby Smith bearded the lion in his den, and won a permit to act as escort to Miss Brevoort for the coming assembly. At four o'clock in the afternoon, Lieutenant Smith promptly appeared on the scene to claim his partner, and, seated in a small boat named "Pill Box," the two were rowed down river.

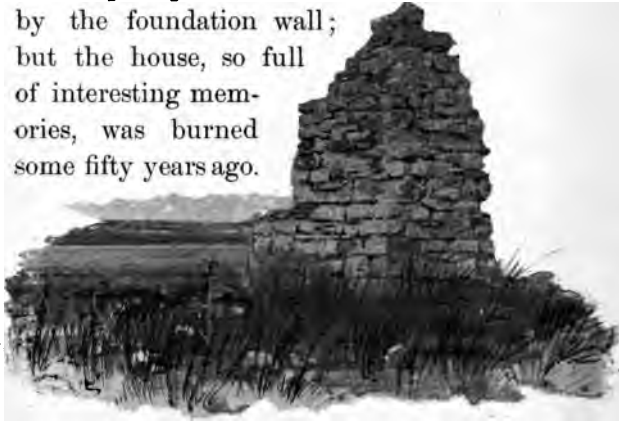
Mrs. Bristol thus describes her dress for the grand occasion: brocaded lavender satin, trimmed with white silk lace, long white kid gloves, red slippers, and white silk hose. The fine music from the government band was most inspiriting to the dancers, who scarcely heeded the storm which began raging without at midnight. At one o'clock, as the ladies belonging to Shantytown were ready to make their adieus to Colonel Lawrence, the stars were shining, and there was a great calm on

river and shore. The entire company save Miss Brevoort and her escort, Lieutenant Smith, preferred the large United States barge for the trip homeward. The young couple from the Indian Agency decided to return as they had come, in the tiny "Pill Box," the lady's only protection from chill and damp night air, a white lace shawl, and large green calash, standing out far from her head.

An unexpected storm arose in a twinkling. Rain fell in torrents, and wind lashed the waves about them to white foam. Lightning flashes were so vivid that the soldiers lost their bearings in sheer bewilderment, while the small craft they were rowing, was tossed about at the mercy of the elements; the men making use of boots and hats in bailing the constantly filling boat. Each one worked with energetic force, inspired by danger, keeping the skiff afloat, until driven by the wind on a sand bar, from whence these toilers of the sea were forced to wade ashore. Sunrise was just breaking over the agency house, when its beautiful daughter, kid slippers water-soaked and clay-laden from her two miles' walk, her bedraggled finery trailing

disconsolately behind, appeared before her irate father. Lieutenant Smith was transferred to Mackinac in a brief time after this unfortunate escapade, or it might have had a more romantic sequel.

Of the agency house whence Marie Brevoort and the young officer went forth so gayly that July afternoon, there now remains only a massive ruined chimney of rough stone, overlooking the river. Golden rod, purple asters and tall, plummy grasses crowd the ample space enclosed by the foundation wall; but the house, so full of interesting memories, was burned some fifty years ago.



Chimney of Agency House, built in 1825.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Lost Dauphin.

A most interesting episode, in varied and romantic incident, is that pertaining to the life of Eleazer Williams; and whatever may be the estimate of the kingly claim assumed by him in later years, one cannot refuse a dash of enthusiasm in recalling his versatile career. Born in an Indian cabin in the isolated hamlet of St. Regis; reared in wild Caughnawauga; full to the brim of robust life and animal spirits, hunting, trapping, fishing through dense forests from Canada to Lake Champlain; when fourteen years of age he saw for the first time the inside of a school-house at Long Meadow, Connecticut, where he was sent at the suggestion of the Williams' family of Massachusetts, to whom he was kin. Clever at his books and of most engaging manners, he was petted and made much of by his guardian, Nathaniel Ely, who said that "Lazar" was born for a great man and should have an education that would prepare him for his station in

life. The Indian lad, who yet looked so unlike an Indian—exhibited a grace and suavity unusual in a New England village of that period, seeming rather to teach than to acquire from others the polished manners of social life. From the first, Eleazer was intended for a missionary among the Indians, and as he grew into manhood his journal shows a sincere desire to carry out his religious teaching; but wherever he went, flattery and attention were bestowed upon the handsome youth until his brain was filled with dreams of what the years might bring of future greatness.

His first essay at mission work was made just prior to 1812, but during the war this was relinquished, and as an American spy and bearer of secret dispatches, duties for which he showed a special aptitude, he did good service to his country.* Then comes his life as teacher of the Oneidas in the Mohawk Valley, his work being carried on at Oneida Castle, the homestead of the old head chief, Skenandoah, dead some years before.

* MS. diary of Eleazer Williams, chief of the "Secret Corps of Observation."

Williams at this time had great influence with the Indians, and during his stay among the Oneidas persuaded nearly three-fifths of the tribe to abjure paganism and embrace Christianity. A thorough master of the Mohawk language, he preached the gospel to his Indian converts in their mother tongue, and with such enthusiasm that the message, hitherto heard only through the misty veil of an interpreter, made deep impression on his auditors. He so revised the alphabet that whereas twenty characters had been in use, he reduced the number to eleven, making the Mohawk a more perfect language than before, and so simplifying it that an Indian child could be taught to read in a few lessons.*

It was about this time that the project was set in motion to transfer the New York Indians from their restricted reservations in the thickly populated Mohawk valley to unclaimed lands west of the Great Lakes. Commissioner Jedidiah Morse gave a favorable report of the tract lying along Fox River, and in 1821 Williams, who had become deeply interested in the

* A. G. Ellis, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. VII.

scheme, traveled westward to Green Bay with a delegation of Oneidas, Onondagas, Tuscaroras, and Stockbridges, their object being to treat with the Menominees and Winnebagoes for a cession of their territory. As a portion of the Oneidas strenuously opposed the removal, complications arose ; but government favored the transfer, Thomas L. Ogden, principal of the New York Land Company, furthered it in all possible ways, while Bishop Hobart and the Rev. Mr. Kemper, of whom Williams solicited aid to establish an Indian mission at Green Bay, gave cautious encouragement to the enterprise. But, while apparently working in the interest of his compatriots, Williams cherished at heart one of the most daring and comprehensive plots ever devised : to unite not the Oneidas only, but the whole Six Nations, into a despotic commune—the country west of Lake Michigan to be mapped out and a large area set off for each tribe—the St. Regis, to be located at Green Bay ; for this confederation he devised a new form of government—never a republic—an Indian empire, of which he was to be Chief Sachem and King. Such was the startling

plan originated by this reputed son of the half-caste, Thomas Williams, and his Indian wife.

The emigration project matured slowly. On the first of September, 1822, Eleazer Williams and his assistant, A. G. Ellis, with a representation from the Six Nations much larger than that of the preceding year, entered the mouth of Fox River in the staunch, new schooner "Superior."

"The sun," writes Mr. Ellis, "coming up in majestic splendor, gilded the shores of the river and the hamlet of Green Bay with light and beauty. Both banks, for five or six miles, were dotted with the settlers' cabins which were uniformly white-washed with lime, and in the bright morning sun, at a mile's distance, shone like balls of fire. The scene was a perfect enchantment."

All the village was astir with expectation and excitement, for the arrival of an eastern schooner was an event of prime importance. To some it brought friends, to others supplies, and to all the latest news, public and personal, for it was the bearer of the mails, not for Green Bay alone, but for all the upper country.

Williams took possession of the agency house, which stood on the north bank of Dutchman's Creek, where it empties into Fox River. News of his arrival having been bruited abroad, the Winnebago and Menominee tribes began assembling to receive from the New York Indians the fifteen hundred dollars in goods guaranteed them at the treaty of the preceding year. They gathered to the number of three or four thousand—a picturesque sight; the braves in their gay toggery of beaded buckskin, with gaudy blankets hanging loosely from the waist, and unencumbered save by their firearms; the meagre camp equipage and papooses packed on small, rough ponies, or carried by the unhappy squaws. A village of matted lodges sprang up almost in a single night on the level plain north of the agency house, where, in presence of Colonel Pinkney and other officers from the garrison, and French residents from the town, the council dragged its slow and smoky length along. The Winnebagoes almost immediately repudiated the treaty, declaring that their land was already overrun with white men, and they had no

mind to share with others the little that remained of their once wide territory. Yet they lingered around the encampment to join in the pow-wows, which made each night hideous, and, as a fitting climax to the revelry, consented to give a grand war dance for the diversion of the visitors, white and copper-colored.

A circle was formed, the little band of white men in the inner ring, while the hollow space in center was filled with dancers, drummers, and singers. The drum, made from an old keg or hollow log, over which had been stretched wet deerskin, was beaten with ceaseless monotony, and in addition the players used a reed pipe of their own invention, not unlike a flageolet, from which they drew a plaintive harmony, touching beyond description. On the outside of the circle were massed hundreds of savages, lying, leaning, standing, daubed with paint of every tint, and with one, two, or as many as twenty, feathers stuck upright in the hair.

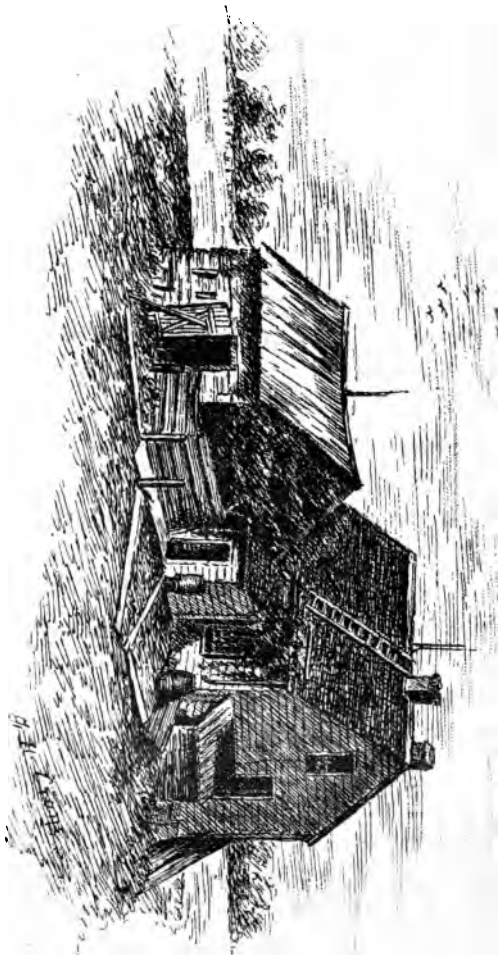
A score of the most stalwart young Winnebagoes, without a thread of clothing save a breech cloth, painted in

gorgeous colors with circles of red, green, and blue around the eyes, and armed with spears and tomahawks, began at a given signal the pantomimic description of war. First the crafty seizing of the tomahawk, then the discovery of the enemy, the shooting and scalping—all so well enacted that the spectators could easily understand the import of their wild and savage movements. The excitement gradually increased until all the participants were in motion, dancing, singing, shouting, yelling, dangling metallic rods; at one time humming a sort, of chant in a low bass monotone, then suddenly passing, after a wild, disjointed interval, into a sharp scream, made tremulous by placing fingers on the lips, and repeated every two or three minutes. With their bodies naked except for the covering of paint, and their feathered crowns, they seemed as they darted back and forth brandishing their death weapons more like demons than men.

None could endure the sight unappalled, for the Winnebagoes were at that time the most warlike of Wisconsin tribes, quick to revenge fancied injury and re-

quiring in recompense five lives for one. This was, however, a peaceful exhibition of their powers; with the last war-whoop silently and swiftly they moved away, and while horror of the weird spectacle still thrilled the on-lookers, the camp was struck and the Indians were off for the winter hunt.

The Menominees remained, and a concession was wrung from them which resulted during ensuing years in much confusion and dissatisfaction. They agreed that the New York Indians might become joint possessors with them of their territory; the Oneidas to have a tract of land lying about eight miles westward from Green Bay; the Stockbridges, Menominees and Brothertowns to be settled on the east side of Lake Winnebago. The time now seemed ripe for the realization of Williams's scheme of government, but the man himself was too vacillating and lacking in straightforward purpose to hold the confidence of the Indians. Hints of false dealing were already whispered against him, and the kingdom which his brain had evolved, eluded his grasp just as it seemed about to materialize.



House where Priest Williams was Married.

Pledged by promises made to the Missionary Board, the Menominees, and the French inhabitants of Green Bay, to the establishment of a mission school, Williams yet dallied month after month, and it was only through the insistence of Mr. Ellis that a beginning was finally made. All the Creole youth took advantage of this educational opportunity, and among the pupils was a beautiful girl of fourteen, Madeline Jourdain, to whom Williams, in his daily visits to the school, gave special attention. The home of the Jourdains was still standing in 1880, a low, log structure, picturesque in its odd proportions;* and here in the winter of 1823 occurred the marriage of "Priest Williams" and the pretty Madeline, who, although solemnly betrothed to a young French trader, was, in his absence, bartered away by her parents, according to the custom of the time and country.

*The Joseph Jourdain tract contained about two acres, situated south of water-works pumping station and fronting on the river. When the plat of Astor was made in 1835, the Astors had no title to this tract and it was not platted. It is now a part of Astor, but is in all transfers described by metes and bounds. The "Miller house," Jourdain's former home, stood on Lots 4, 5 and 6, Block 6.

In the autumn of 1825 Williams took his wife, then but sixteen years of age, to New York, where her baptism and confirmation by Bishop Hobart in Trinity Church excited almost as vivid a sensation in the fashionable world as had that of Pocahontas in English society two centuries before. In the following spring (1826) the Bishop of New York ordained Williams to the priesthood, a ceremony of great interest, he being the first of Indian blood to receive orders in the church. Whatever there may have been of romance at this epoch in the lives of our hero and heroine rapidly dissolved. Only a few years and Priest Williams was a wanderer on the face of the earth; a disowned clergyman of the Episcopal Church, yet holding an occasional religious service in dissenting chapels; false in his pledges to the Indians; recreant to the United States government; his scheme of grandeur and imperial dominion a vanished dream. For a time he rested in moody discontent in his unpretentious farm house on Fox River, then was roused to higher ambition still. One who saw Williams then, describes him as an exceptionally fine-looking

man, who might have been taken for a Mexican or Spaniard. His complexion had decidedly more of the olive than the copper hue, and his countenance was grave, almost melancholy.*

What first gave rise to his assumption of royalty is not positively known. His mother declared that the idea was suggested to him by a party of French officers, who, coming from Montreal to Caughnawaga, met him at her home; told him that he looked like the Bourbons; that Louis XVII., if living, would be about Williams's age; that possibly he, himself, might be the lost Dauphin. This was, perhaps, the truth, but Williams asserted that enlightenment as to his parentage came unexpectedly from another and more reliable source. It was in June, 1841, that the whilom missionary made a journey to New York, and, while the business which called him there was still unfinished, left suddenly and mysteriously for the West, on receiving information that the Prince de Joinville, son of Louis Philippe, was to visit Green Bay. When the steamer "Columbia" with the

*Mrs. Kinzie's "Waubun."

Prince and his suite on board touched at Mackinac, Williams stood ready on the wharf to greet the royal guest, and the following day they were much together in close conversation.

On their arrival at Green Bay, to follow Williams's story, De Joinville urged the agreeable clergyman to join him at the hostelry given over for the day to the distinguished guests. This invitation was declined, but at the conclusion of a sumptuous banquet the Prince summoned Williams to his private apartment, where, while the gay young Frenchmen of the royal retinue caroused in an adjoining room, their laughter and merry wit penetrating the thin partition, the astounding revelation was made, that he, the poor missionary, was no other than Louis the Seventeenth of France; that the Dauphin had not died in the tower as was reported, but had been brought to America and placed with an Indian family to be reared as one of their own people. The Prince then produced a document, the purport of which was a solemn abdication of the throne of France in favor of Louis Philippe by Charles Louis, son of

Louis the Sixteenth, King of France and Navarre, and this was presented to Williams for signature. Should he consent, a princely establishment in France or America, as he preferred, was at his disposal. The tempting bribe was rejected, Williams, as he said, preferring poverty and exile to the renouncement of his birth-right.

That an interview really took place between the Prince and priest was known at the time, but strangely enough not a syllable was breathed by the would-be King as to what passed between himself and the French nobleman until many years after. The momentous colloquy over, the royal cortege mounted the rough little Canadian ponies impressed for their service with much laughter and jabbering of French, for many of the young officers were totally unskilled in horsemanship and their ill-assorted steeds, wild as the country in which they were reared, threatened each moment to over-turn their riders. Leaving La Baye Verte behind them, the jolly company roamed through the country pell-mell, passing the first night of their novel tour through the wilderness at a

log cabin about a mile distant from Priest Williams's own dwelling.

After De Joinville's return to France, a gift of valuable books and finely engraved reproductions from miniatures of Louis XVI. and his beautiful queen reached the small house at the Little Kakalin, whose owner already possessed an exceptionally interesting library of old and curious volumes. There were besides in that modest homestead many things that would tempt a curio collector of to-day—brass and iron fire-dogs of antique design, blue and white china, odd old silver and quaint pieces of furniture; while in the low attic stood the loom, on which Madam Williams taught her bound girls to weave the coarse cloth for their wearing apparel. Not less interesting were the journals, letters and sermons, written and preached by members of the Williams family in New England, dead and gone a century before. A diary was kept, moreover, by the alleged Dauphin himself, which gives no intimation of state plots or intrigues, but tells simply of every-day life on the farm—when the family go to the spring sugar making—at what date the fields are

planted—varied by the account of a visit to Green Bay, and an occasional amicable discussion with the Rev. Jeremiah Porter.

It was twelve years after the coming of the Prince to Green Bay, the impression produced by it and the subsequent correspondence having long died away, when the subject was revived, and interest in it awakened, by the publication of a skit in *Putnam's Magazine* entitled, "Have We a Bourbon Among Us?" In Green Bay the story was universally ridiculed, for its citizens could not believe that prospects so brilliant had been refused by a man like Eleazer Williams; yet the proofs brought forward to substantiate his claim were ingenious, and the article created wide-spread interest and much discussion in Eastern cities. As soon as the slow-sailing vessels of those days could reach France, the family of Louis Philippe were put in possession of the strange romance, and De Joinville, through his private secretary, hastened to refute the story of the reputed interview, even denying all remembrance of such a person as Rev. Eleazer Williams.

Whether Williams himself believed in the truth of his claim it is impossible to tell,

varying accounts being given of the attitude assumed by him in the matter. The following letter written by him to his friend, Pierre Bernard Grignon, under date of September 21st, 1848, five years before the story was brought before the public, would seem to show that he either feigned belief or was himself deceived :

“The intelligence I am now to give you is in accordance with the *hints* I gave you in our last interview, which now prove too true. Am I the child of the most unfortunate parents? A descendant from one of the most unhappy potentates of Europe? The secret commissioners from Fr— have, in a great measure, confirmed it. Oh, the unhappy and cruel fate of parents! Can you wonder, my friend, I am in distress—yea, agony? The news has seized me with such a poignant grief and sorrow as it would require with the tongue of an angel and the pen of a ready writer to describe my feelings. Where all this affair will end God only knows. Tremendous scenes may be before me, or it will end in peaceful and calm weather.”

The expected conflict never came. Even then Louis Philippe had been dethroned by the *coup d'état*, but no royalist party arose to claim as its leader the alleged descendant of the Bourbons, Eleazer Williams.

After the issue of Rev. Dr. Hanson's cleverly-fabricated volume, “The Lost

Prince," Williams enjoyed for some years the notoriety brought him by his claim to royalty. In New York, Boston, and Washington, he received many flattering attentions, his polish of manner and agreeable conversation giving plausibility to the theory of his distinguished antecedents. It is said that he carried his assumption to the extent of signing his private letters with the royal cypher L. C., while notes were addressed to him as "Your Royal Highness."

Improbable as now appears his claim to greatness, it is yet possible to imagine how the story was largely credited among an intelligent and cultivated class. In the parish register at St. Regis, are recorded the names of the children born to Thomas Williams and his wife, but Eleazar is not among them. Priest Williams possessed in a marked degree the facial peculiarities of the Bourbons; he had the scrofulous scars said to have marked the young Dauphin. He was, according to a contemporary, like the race of Louis Ninth through all the centuries, an adept at dissimulation and intrigue, and even leaving out this last invective, a review of

the sad facts in the unfortunate Dauphin's history, renders the theory advanced in Williams's case at least plausible. Numerous affidavits were brought forward to substantiate the claim, many of them worthy of reliance, and with other proofs could bear review far more satisfactorily than in many instances of the kind on record which have received credit. But whether a defrauded prince royal of France, or the scion of an ignorant and savage race, Eleazer Williams's life was full of strange vicissitudes, which were borne with a brave stoicism worthy of a truer and better man. He died in Hogansburg, New York, among the people of his own race, whom, in the once high estate of this world's favor, he had forsaken, and there he "sleeps with the untitled."

NOTE.—Authorities for this chapter, unless otherwise noted, are Hansen's "The Lost Prince," "Sketch of Eleazer Williams," by Mrs. M. L. Martin, *Plattsburg Republican*, 1882, and *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, Vol. VIII., pp. 322-59.

CHAPTER IX.

In Later Years.

There is a legend, that in the early years of the century, perhaps 1807, a large cross stood on the west side of the river, half way between the fort and the Des Peres Rapids. Around this holy symbol the devout among the Green Bay settlers, then nearly without exception Roman Catholic in faith, gathered for the ceremonies of their church. Here also a confirmation service was held, when the little Creole children of the village received first communion from the hands of a Bishop.* If the tradition be true, this was the first instance of an ecclesiastical visit to the vicinity of the old mission, since Father Chardon departed with De Lignery, in 1728.

At Advent season the villagers met around from house to house "to sing hymns, and praise the Lord," the first reunion of the year being always at the

* Interview with Mrs. (Angelique Ducharme) Martine, of St. Ignace, in fall of 1891. She was born about the year 1795.

home of Madame Langevin, a woman foremost in all good and benevolent work, who, after the religious exercises were over, served to her guests a bountiful supper in the hospitable fashion of those early days.*

The first Protestant sermon ever preached in Wisconsin was delivered by Rev. Jedidiah Morse, during his short sojourn at the Bay as Indian Commissioner; and from time to time in succeeding years the erratic missionary, Eleazer Williams, would hold a service in the mess room at Fort Howard. In 1823, Father Gabriel Richard,† Vicar-General for the Northwest, made a visitation to the hamlet, probably giving promise of future ministrations, for a church was commenced the same year on the De Langlade property.‡ Here the venerable Father Badin, making semi-annual visits of two weeks' each, was wont to assemble his congregation and instruct them in the formulas of their religion. Young and old

* Recollections of Miss Ursula Grignon.—French's History of Brown County.

† Delegate to Congress from Michigan Territory in 1823-4.

‡ Where now stands the pumping station of the Green Bay and Fort Howard Water Works.

met together, and, seated on the floor in ranks from ten to fifteen deep, would repeat after the good priest, creed, catechism, or scripture lesson: he, meanwhile, walking up and down between the rows, and keeping a sharp lookout for delinquents in respect to attention. This building was never completed, but burned to the ground some five years later, while under the care of a certain Friar Fauvel, who, although much beloved by his flock, turned out to be something of a renegade.

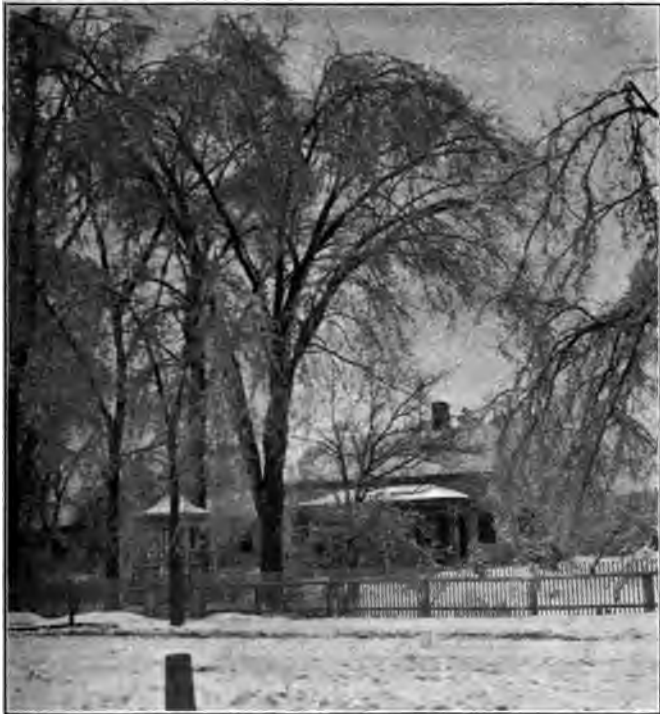
As English-speaking Protestants, of varying religious tenets, came to the growing town, each denomination in its own way sought to inaugurate regular services. At one time A. G. Ellis acted as lay reader, and taught a Sunday-school in Shantytown: and a little later services were conducted in the Fort school-house, alternately, by Episcopalians and Presbyterians. In 1827 the Rev. Richard Cadle was appointed, by the Protestant Episcopal Missionary Board, superintendent of Green Bay missions. He, with his sister, Sarah B. Cadle, as assistant, opened a school in the unoccupied barracks at Camp Smith. A gener-

ous grant of land, adjoining the military reservation on the north, was afterward obtained from government through the Indian agent, Major Henry B. Brevoort,* and two comfortable buildings erected. John V. Suydam, who came to Green Bay in 1831, was engaged as assistant teacher.

The plan was to establish an industrial school similar to those now successfully conducted by government for the Western reservations, but the Indians were indifferent or actively opposed to the scheme, having no mind to restrict their children to the humdrum monotony of a life bounded by routine. Solomon Juneau, of Milwaukee, when petitioned to use his influence in obtaining scholars, wrote: "As to the little savages whom you ask about for Mr. Cadle, I have spoken to several, and they tell me with great satisfaction that they are much happier in their present situation than in learning geography."

The results of the school did not meet expectations, and at the expiration of five years, health and strength failing, Mr.

* MS. letter of Rev. R. F. Cadle, Oct., 1829.



The Whitney Homestead.

(First House in Navarino)

Cadle asked for a successor. The mission was not discontinued, however, until 1839, Rev. D. E. Brown succeeding Mr. Cadle in charge, assisted by the Misses Crawford.

In 1830, the Town of Navarino* was laid out by Daniel Whitney, whose keen, practical mind recognized the suitability of this situation for commercial purposes. It was at first merely a town on paper, a butt for ridicule, owing to its low, swampy location; but Mr. Whitney with undiminished confidence built a large warehouse and wharf, dwelling-houses for his clerks and laborers, and a comfortable village tavern, styled the "Washington House," † which, in 1834, was placed in charge of Thomas Greene, of Plattsburgh, N. Y. Gradually the residents of Shantytown looked upon the spot with more favor; several log and frame houses were erected, forming a nucleus around which the business part of the city has grown. Mr. Whitney built a school-house in 1831, and in the following year Alex-

*Navarino extended north from the center of the block between Doty and Walnut Streets, and included the land on the north shore of Devil River.—Map of Navarino.

† Built on present site of Beaumont House.

ander Grignon announces that if twenty scholars are assured to him by subscription he will "open a school at the New School House in Navarino, for the instruction of children in the various branches of English studies usually taught at Common Schools."*

From this time forward one or more private schools were taught in the growing town. The Episcopal mission at Camp Smith had declined in prosperity, but at the second session of the territorial legislature obtained a charter under the name of the "Wisconsin University of Green Bay." A board of twenty trustees was appointed, to whom the funds and property of the original institution were handed over, to be applied for the benefit of the new one, "in such manner as shall most effectually promote virtue, piety and learning." †

About the year 1840 an effort was made to establish a district school at Green Bay under the revised statutes adopted by the third legislature. It met with great

* Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. XII., p. 464.

†Columbian History of Education in Wisconsin. The name was afterwards changed to that of Hobart University, but the school existed for a short time only.

opposition from both Protestants and Roman Catholics,* which was finally overcome, and a school system in time was permanently established.

In 1829 Christ Church Parish (Episcopal) was incorporated by act of the third legislative council of Michigan Territory, with Daniel Whitney and A. G. Ellis as wardens, and eight vestrymen, at that time the prescribed number: James D. Doty, John Lawe, William Dickenson, A. J. Irwin, John P. Arndt, Samuel W. Beall, Robert Irwin, Jr., and H. S. Baird. This parish and that of Manitowoc are the only church organizations in Wisconsin thus incorporated independent of diocesan jurisdiction.† Rev. Richard F. Cadle was first called to the rectorship of the parish in 1829, with a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars per annum, and retained the charge, except for an interval of one year, until 1837, so endearing himself to his parishioners that his name still awakens loving memories in the hearts of those who recall him. Services were at first held in

* Recollections of Dr. David Ward.—French's History of Brown County.

† Christ Church MS. Records.

the mission building, but in 1838 the corner-stone of Christ Church was laid, Rev. D. E. Brown having succeeded Mr. Cadle. The structure was completed during the following year, and consecrated in 1840 by Bishop Kemper.

The first Methodist service was conducted at the garrison by Colonel Samuel Ryan,* who came with the troops in 1826 as a non-commissioned officer. In 1832 the New York Conference sent as missionary to the district about Green Bay the Rev. J. C. Clark, who on his arrival preached at the fort to both soldiers and citizens, and also formed the first class, consisting of Samuel Ryan, class-leader, and three other members, one of whom was Mrs. George M. Brooks, wife of the commandant. In 1834 Rev. George White was appointed to the mission, and two years later the church membership had so increased that a place of worship was be-

* Col. Ryan, about the year 1830, settled permanently in Green Bay. Others who resigned from the army and became respected citizens of the town, and whose descendants are now resident in the state, were Capt. John Cotton and Lieut. William Root. Retired officers who, after long years of service, spent their last years among us, were Col. William H. Chapman and Col. Maurice Maloney.

gun, which was completed in the following year. This building was ten years later purchased by the Roman Catholics of St. John's Parish, and was burned in the spring of 1872.*

The Methodists of that day were of the true Wesleyan type, to whom the wearing of a flounced gown or a gold trinket were sins as deadly as any in the decalogue, and the story is told that one of their most devoted and conscientious members was threatened with excommunication by her ultra ascetic pastor for appearing at meeting in a bonnet brought from the seat of fashion, Detroit, having its modest dove color and white surmounted by a huge tulip-shaped rosette.

The First Presbyterian Church was organized in January, 1836, with twelve members, prominent among them, Daniel Butler, Asahel Hart, E. W. Follett, and William Mitchell. The organization was effected on a Saturday evening in a small house that still stands on the west side of Adams Street, between Doty and Walnut; and the public recognition took place in

*Bennett's "History of Methodism in Wisconsin."

the military hospital at Fort Howard on the afternoon of the following day. Both services were conducted by Rev. Cutting Marsh, missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, who continued to preach occasionally during the summer. Two years subsequent the church edifice was completed and dedicated, Rev. Stephen Peet being pastor at the time.* Many interesting incidents are connected with this old church which burned in the fall of 1880. During the pastorate of the Rev. Jeremiah Porter, who was installed in 1840 and continued in charge for eighteen years, a family of fugitive slaves were secreted in the belfry for several weeks, until safe transportation by sailing vessel could be secured for them to Canada. Mr. Porter was one of the pioneer clergymen of the West, and was greatly beloved by his congregation at Green Bay.

In the meanwhile a Roman Catholic church and school-house had been built in Shantytown on the property of Joseph Ducharme, who gave an acre of ground for this purpose. The buildings were de-

* "God's Providence for Forty Years."—William Crawford, D. D.

signed by the Dominican, Father Maz-zuchelli, and erected during his incumbency. With this curé came two nuns of the order of "Poor Claires," who for two years superintended a flourishing convent school. In the fearful cholera visitation of 1832-34 the Lady Superior, Sister Clare, with her companion, rendered devoted service in nursing the sick, even assisting in the burial of the dead.

Nearly every household was stricken and to the terror inspired by the fatal scourge was added dread of an Indian outbreak, which seemed imminent; for in 1832 occurred that most tragical episode in modern Wisconsin history known as the Black Hawk War. Every incoming boat was liable to bring contagion. At Detroit the epidemic attacked General Scott's command on their way to the scene of action, depleting the ranks by nearly three hundred. Hemmed in by pestilence on the one hand and rebellious savages on the other, our little town felt a loneliness and isolation never before realized.

The Fort Howard soldiery, then under command of Captain Nathan Clark, were

retained in garrison for protection of the townspeople and fugitives from threatened points. Colonel Boyd, the newly appointed Indian agent, who had reached his post only a month previous, responded promptly to General Atkinson's call for Indian allies, and sent runners to the Menominee camps, urging the warriors to assemble without delay. Yet, eager though they were to revenge the massacre of one of their bands by hostile Sacs under Black Hawk two years before, the chiefs with characteristic deliberation delayed, and at the expiration of five days the impatient agent could report only forty as encamped around the agency house. The number was finally augmented to about five hundred, who, at their own request, were placed under command of Colonel Stambaugh, their former agent.*

A limited number of white volunteers, recruited by Alexander Irwin, joined the expedition. The appearance of the gallant militiamen on their march is thus described :

"A company of about twenty-five horsemen, with banners flying, veils

* Boyd Papers.—Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. XII., p. 270.

fluttering from their hats, and arms glittering in the sun, rode into our midst amid greetings and roars of laughter. They were Colonel Stambaugh and Alexander Irwin, of Green Bay, with a company of young volunteers, and followed by a whooping band of Menominees, all bound for the seat of war. We comforted them with the assurance that the victories were by this time all won, and the scalps taken; but expressing the hope that there were yet a few laurels to be earned they bade us adieu and rapidly pursued their march."* The battle of Wisconsin Heights had just taken place. Stambaugh's volunteers reached the Mississippi in time to head off a fugitive remnant of Sacs, who had escaped to the woods, and these were massacred by the Menominee allies.†

It was during Captain Clark's command that the murder of a young officer occurred at the fort. The perpetrator of the deed, Doyle, a private soldier, had for some offense been placed by Lieutenant Foster's order in confinement. Doyle per-

* Waubun.—Mrs. John H. Kinzie.

† Thwaites's Story of the Black Hawk War.

suaded the sergeant of the guard to allow him an interview with the lieutenant, and when brought into his presence wrenched the gun from the sergeant's hand and sent a bullet through the heart of the officer, who gave one sigh and fell dead. Doyle was hung outside the stockaded wall of the fort.

Disagreements had arisen among the various Indian tribes settled along Fox River as to the alleged purchase and sale of lands in the years 1821-22: the New York Indians maintaining that the treaty made at that time was for *bona fide* purchase, while the Menominees and Winnebagoes declared it to be merely a permit granted their brothers from New York "to sit down among them." President Jackson, in the summer of 1830, appointed General Erastus Root and James McCall, of New York, and John T. Mason, of Kentucky, to meet the Indians in council, attempt an adjustment of these difficulties, and define the limits of the reservation ceded to the New York tribes.

McCall's private journal, in which he kept a daily minute record of events, is a marvel of defective spelling and misplaced

capitals, yet describes in spicy manner a typical Indian council. A building for temporary use as a council-room was erected adjoining Judge Arndt's residence, and here "public table" was kept for the chiefs and principal men of the tribes, while daily rations were issued to the rabble encamped outside. The river was alive with canoes crowded full of savages; at one time a fleet of sixty swept up to the landing-place. That night high revel was held; "all drunk, both male and female—quarrilling among themselves," writes McCall; yet the next day he speaks with admiration of Hoot Schoop, or Four Legs, head chief of the Winnebagoes, whom he entertained at dinner. "A most interesting man in appearance and deportment, speaks his own tongue fluently and forcible." Eleazer Williams appeared for the St. Regis Indians, and the western tribes demanded that they also should have representatives from among the white men, which the commissioners acceding to, the Menominees chose "one who lived in a brick house and was judge of the high court" (Judge Doty), while the Winnebagoes "took hold of and introduced a

young lawyer by the name of Henry S. Baird as their council."

The war dances waxed more fierce and frequent as time went by, and the deliberations seemed interminable. McCall wearied of the whole affair, longing to be "again in a Christian country," and not alone from the savages does he complain of annoyance. At one of the dinings to which were invited "Officers from the fort, some private gentlemen and about fourteen chiefs," an altercation arose between his two fellow commissioners in relation to the invitations issued, which quite destroyed the geniality of the occasion; "some of the company already present refused to sit at the Table and some very hard words passed, To the mortification or dissatisfaction of all present, and the whole was confusion." After this unpleasantness the custom of setting a public dinner was discontinued.

Little was accomplishad at this great council. A. G. Ellis was instructed to make a survey by which the boundary lines of the reservations in dispute were defined, and these were confirmed the following winter, when a deputation of In-

dians in charge of Agent Stambaugh went on to Washington, and concluded what has become known as the "Stambaugh Treaty." *

The final removal of the New York Indians to their Western home, in 1832, added much to the importance of the agency at Green Bay. In June of that year, John Quincy Adams appointed to the position George Boyd, a Maryland gentleman of good colonial family, whose wife was a sister of Mrs. Adams. Colonel Boyd was a courtly and accomplished Southerner, fond of wine, good dinners, and the expensive luxuries of life. Household goods used in his Mackinac† establishment, the tall, silver candle sticks, oval mirrors in gilded frames, and handsome brasses, are a matter of wonder when one considers the wilderness through which they were transported and the rude, primitive dwelling they were destined to adorn. At Colonel Boyd's bountiful board, men of diverse callings were entertained: Rt. Rev. Bishop Kemper, on a visitation to the newly

* Wis. Hist. Colls., Vols. II., pp. 432 *et seq.*, and XII., pp. 170-209.

† Where he was formerly agent.

organized church at Navarino; the agent of American Fur Company, who brought the latest Eastern news; officers from the garrison, with distinguished guests, who were here on a visit of inspection or pleasure, were all made welcome.

A most important work, commenced about this time (1832), in which soldiers from Fort Howard were employed, was the opening of two highways, known for many years as the military roads: one following Fox River to Fond du Lac and striking across country to the Fox-Wisconsin Portage; the other running southeast to Manitowoc, and from thence along the lake shore to Chicago.* The latter route closely followed the old Indian trail, the same that Alexis Clermont took (1833-36) when making regular trips with the United States mail bags strapped on his back. Moses Hardwick was also employed during the thirties as mail carrier to Milwaukee, where Solomon Juneau was at that time postmaster. The small newspaper published semi-monthly at Green Bay, in

* Map of Wisconsin Territory compiled from the public surveys, 1st session, 3d Congress.

1834, has this refrain at the head of its columns:

Three times a week without any fail,
At four o'clock we look for the mail,
Brought with dispatch on an Indian trail.

Often, however, the villagers must have looked in vain for a sight, at the forest's edge, of the queer, brown figure, with its burden of wished-for letters. Trusty carriers were hard to find, although the pay was ample according to the scale of wages in those days,—\$45 to Milwaukee, and from \$60 to \$65 to Chicago and return,—and communication must have been very irregular, to judge from letters that passed between Bernard Grignon, who had the contract for transporting the mail, and the Milwaukee postmaster.

Following Captain Clark as commandant at the fort was Major A. C. W. Fanning, who was relieved in 1833 by General George M. Brooks. The officers of the 5th Infantry who came with Brooks, or were stationed here up to 1838, were Moses E. Merrill, Martin Scott, Kirby Smith, Caleb Sibley, W. B. Rosselle, William H. Chapman, Randolph Marcy,* John C.

* Lieutenant Marcy afterward rose to the rank of Inspector General of the U. S. Army. His

Robinson—gallant officers, whose names are all familiar to old Green Bay residents.

Captain Martin Scott, whose eccentricities were well known not only in army circles, but in civil life also, was famous in his youth among the sharp-shooters of the Green Mountains. His wonderful success in the use of a gun gave rise to his boast that no bullet ever moulded could strike Martin Scott, a prediction sadly unfulfilled in the end. Many anecdotes are told concerning the misanthropic officer, who loved his dogs better than mankind, but the memorials left by him of these favorites have been ignored by his biographers. The captain's devotion to the chase necessitated a variety of canine breeds, and for their comfort he built a liliputian city, each kennel in pagoda shape, with florid ornamentation, conspicuous even from a distance on entering the harbor, and dubbed by villagers and sold-

daughter, Ellen, who became the wife of Major General George B. McClellan, was born at Fort Howard, and her babyhood's nurse, Aunt Polly Doxtater, who died at Green Bay, December, 1882, at the age of 97 years, was an Oneida woman of considerable intelligence and some education—a most interesting character to her life's end, able to recall entertaining memories of people and events long passed away.

iers, "Scott's four-legged brigade quarters."

While Captain Scott remained at the fort, the care given to the appointments of this miniature village might have done credit to Gulliver's palace of the pigmies, but when marching orders came, the dogs were given to friends and scattered abroad, and the buildings, erected with so critical an eye to architectural detail, and such consideration for the comfort of the animals, fell into disuse and decay. The dilapidated skeletons remained for a few years, however, as broken records of the faithful friend and brave soldier who marched so unfalteringly to carnage and death.

By 1835, many of the old colonial customs had passed away; the village had lost something of its primitive social character, but the people were still given to lavish entertainment and merry-making to an unusual degree. The French habitants, never aggressive, retired more and more within their own circle and nationality, while a more prim and sober class of Americans were filling the vacant places, and stamping their influence on the

manners and customs of the settlement.* Among the officers stationed at the fort then and for a decade following, the greater part were gay young graduates of West Point, full of vitality and ready for any fun, while their wives, ladies of culture and refinement from high social circles in Eastern cities, were nearly all strict religionists, disapproving to a great extent of worldly amusements. This threw the officers much into comradeship with the civilians across the river. The "Washington" was a favorite place of rendezvous, and to many a jovial scene between soldier and citizen were the old walls witness. Cards were in free use, yet stakes were never of large amount, nor was payment of so-called debts of honor imperatively demanded. There were no ill-mannered revels, boisterous and coarse—simply a bevy of young spirits, pining for excitement and action, working off surplus energy.

The old Fifth, so long identified with Green Bay garrison life, was ordered to Florida in 1841, the last of its officers to leave Fort Howard being Captain M. E.

* MS. letter of Col. William H. Chapman, 1835.

Merrill—commandant since 1837—First Lieutenant William Root, Second Lieutenant John C. Robinson, of Company K. When war was declared with Mexico the regiment concentrated in Texas, joining the army of occupation under General Zachary Taylor, and participated in all the engagements of the war, excepting that of Buena Vista. It formed the rear guard of the army in the march from the City of Mexico when peace was declared; the last company to evacuate the city, being commanded by Lieutenant Robinson. In the first murderous charge at the battle of Molino del Rey, when through false intelligence of the enemy's position General Scott ordered a precipitate advance, and a detachment of the Fifth rushed into the jaws of death with full consciousness that the order had been a fatal mistake, Chapman was wounded, and Merrill, Scott and Kirby Smith were killed.*

During the Mexican war Fort Howard was not garrisoned, and in the years following was left in a state of semi-

* MS. letter of Major-General John C. Robinson, 1893.

defense only ; although small commands were quartered there, at one time under Colonel Francis Lee, and later under Colonel Bonneville, its days as a protective fortress were over. These last were placid years in the fort's history ; the necessity which called it into existence had passed away ; peace and prosperity smiled upon the region roundabout under civil government, and, like a warrior full of years and honor, the old cantonment calmly awaited dissolution. Nothing is now left to mark the spot where stood one of the oldest and most prominent military posts in our country, save a large elm tree which once cast its shade over the commanding officer's quarters and now remains a lonely reminder of the military period in Green Bay's history.*

* In 1852, Major Ephraim Shaylor, a veteran of 1812, was in charge of the military reservation, with a sergeant and orderly under him ; otherwise the fort remained ungarrisoned. During the War of the Rebellion, when it was considered prudent to protect the Canadian frontier, Captain Curtis R. Merrill, with a volunteer corps, was stationed here by order of government. A few years later the site of the fort passed into possession of the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company and the works were demolished.

CHAPTER X.

Growth Under Territorial Government.

A new era in Western progress was inaugurated in the year 1834, for at that time government concluded by treaty the purchase of extensive territory hitherto held by the Indians, which during that year and the next was surveyed and opened up for settlement. These lands embraced the southern portion of the present State of Wisconsin, and were partitioned into two districts, that to the westward being designated as the Wisconsin District, with land office at Mineral Point, while the eastern half, bordering on Lake Michigan, and including the now most populous counties of the state, was called the Green Bay District, for which a land office was opened at Navarino,* with Samuel W. Beall, as receiver, and William B. Slaughter, register. Here were to be found on paper the newly-platted villages of Milwaukee and Navarino, and the latter place, being considered by far the most

*Strong's History of Wisconsin Territory, p. 204.

desirable at which to locate, town lots rapidly rose in value from fifty to twelve hundred dollars each. During the summers of 1835-36, excitement rose to fever heat, every steamer and schooner bringing settlers; speculators also crowded in, who purchased land at government prices, which they sold to later comers for treble the amount. Moneyed men from Detroit and other cities invested heavily, the sales in four days alone reaching the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars. With all the wild buying and selling of this busy crowd the utmost harmony and good feeling prevailed, and a vote of thanks was afterward drawn up by leading men of Milwaukee, expressing appreciation of the perfectly fair treatment that their claims had received from the citizens of Green Bay.

It was during the progress of this land sale that the first church fair was held in Green Bay, under the auspices of Christ Church Parish. All the ladies of the village, irrespective of denominational preference, united in the work, and a great variety of articles was collected; among other Indian curiosities, a minia-

ture wigwam of tiny puckaway mats, which readily sold for forty dollars. A bountiful supper was provided and in addition the ladies sold for a large price saucers of "floating island," which they designated as "floats," a term much in use during the land sale. The evening was also enlivened by an auction—William B. Ogden, who, with many other capitalists, had been brought to the town by the speculative fever, acting as auctioneer. In the words of Mrs. Baird, who, in her "*Contes du Temps Passé*," gives a charming account of this fair, Mr. Ogden "was brilliant, witty, perfectly superb,—no professional auctioneer could have thought of competing with him."

The impetus given to the settlement of the incipient commonwealth by these sales was enormous, but the land craze did not eventually benefit Green Bay as it did other localities, a large area of the most desirable property within the township being owned by magnates of the American Fur Company, who held it at exorbitant figures. In 1835 the town of Astor was platted, the proprietors being John Jacob Astor, Ramsay Crooks and

Robert Stuart. A fine hotel, the Astor House, was built by John Jacob Astor, on the corner of Adams and Mason Streets, and also a rambling structure, known in later years as "the bank building," where the first regularly incorporated financial institution west of Detroit, the Bank of Wisconsin, opened its doors in 1835. The old stone vault is still standing on the corner of Adams and Milwaukee Streets. A fierce jealousy existed between the new village and Navarino until January 11th, 1838, when they were united under the name of the Borough of Green Bay, Morgan L. Martin being elected president of the borough.*

Meanwhile public interest was not confined to the evolution of the municipality, for leading men of Green Bay were active in the furtherance of measures for setting off a new territory. Conspicuous in this project and later, influential agents in the formation of territorial laws and constitution were James D. Doty, Henry S. Baird, and Morgan L. Martin energetic spirits, strongly imbued with an enthusiastic faith in the resources and important

* Chapter 66, Laws of Wisconsin, 1838.

future of the undeveloped commonwealth. Others who took part in early legislative councils, were John P. Arndt, A. G. Ellis, Robert and Alexander J. Irwin, Ebenezer Childs, and Joseph Dickinson.

The admission of Michigan as a state, with boundaries that did not include the region west of Lake Michigan, was pending in congress, and, while the matter was still in abeyance, a state government was organized at Detroit. This left in the cold the six counties, having a population of perhaps 15,000, which afterward formed the State of Wisconsin, but at the last regular session of the Territorial legislature of Michigan, held in 1835, Acting Governor Mason had provided for this contingency by appointing the first day of January, 1836, for the assembling at Green Bay of a legislative council to enact laws for the independent government of that section: members from the various counties to be chosen by popular vote, which should also elect a delegate to congress. Mason had been appointed governor of the new State of Michigan, and John W. Horner, of Virginia, filled his place as acting governor and secretary

of the embryo Territory, still a part of Michigan.

Thirteen members were elected to the legislative council, several of them from the extreme western border, and through wintry woods wended their way over a country where settlers were so few that camping out along the route was a frequent necessity. A quorum met at the appointed time and place.* Governor Horner, however, did not appear, nor did he send any official explanation of his non-attendance, although through the columns of the *Wisconsin Democrat* he stated as a reason, that his presence in Detroit was essential in order to look after the interests of the newly-elected Wisconsin congressman, George W. Jones, whose seat was contested by his opponent from Upper Michigan. A president (Josiah B. Teas), secretary (A. G. Ellis), and fiscal agent (J. D. Doty) were elected; but owing to the absence of the executive no legislative business could be transacted other than the adoption of resolutions and memori-

* This session of legislature was held in a building, erected by W. H. Bruce, which was near where the Beaumont House now stands.—French's History of Brown County.

als. Governor Horner was at the outset severely censured for failure to be present.

A committee appointed for the purpose prepared a memorial praying congress to establish an independent government in the country west of Lake Michigan, "commonly called Wisconsin Territory," whereupon a long debate ensued over the location of a seat of government, no decision, however, being arrived at. The session lasted two weeks, the attendant expense being something over twenty-three hundred dollars, a sum which, oddly enough, it was supposed by several of the members that the fiscal agent was to defray. After much wrangling, however, the matter was amicably adjusted, and an appropriation by congress for payment of contingent expenses in the legislature of 1836 was used to liquidate the indebtedness. Thus ended the first session of a legislative body in Wisconsin.*

On the 4th of July, 1836, a bill took effect creating the Territory of Wisconsin, the name having been suggested by James Duane Doty in recognition of its

* Strong's History of Wisconsin Territory, p. 194.

principal river, Ouis Kouche,* or Ouisconsin, as it was variously written in old French days—a name of Indian origin. The first legislative assembly of the territory convened at Belmont,† on the 25th of October, when Henry S. Baird was elected president of the council, and later was appointed by Gov. Dodge first Attorney-General of Wisconsin Territory. At this session an act was passed dividing the territory into three judicial districts, Brown and Milwaukee Counties constituting the third, to which was assigned Judge William C. Frazer, a man who added little to the reputation of the bench in his district. Depere was chosen as the county seat, and although three years later the legislature was petitioned to allow the courts to convene at Green Bay, and a bill to that effect was passed, this was subsequently repealed. There was much grumbling among residents of the older borough, but not until the city was incorporated in 1854, was the county seat again restored to Green

* Tailhan's Perrot.

† In November, 1836, Judge Doty and John V. Suydam started on horseback from Green Bay, and going by way of the Wisconsin River and "Four Lakes" surveyed and laid out several towns, among them the future capital of the state.

Bay, the first court house being the old Holland Church on Adams Street.

Several ineffectual attempts had been made at different times to start a newspaper, and on December 11, 1833, the pioneer journal of Wisconsin appeared under the name of the Green Bay *Intelligencer*, edited by John V. Suydam. It was printed in Navarino, was a sixteen-column folio sheet, 16x22, and, owing to the limited patronage received, was issued semi-monthly. Subsequently A. G. Ellis became connected with the office, and later sole proprietor. In 1835, Charles P. Arndt purchased a part interest, the paper changed its name to the Green Bay *Intelligencer and Wisconsin Democrat*, and in the initial number an endeavor was made toward the organization of a Democratic party. The same year a rival sheet appeared, "*The Wisconsin Free Press*," William Stephenson, editor. For a short time the village supported two papers, but they were soon consolidated under the title of *Wisconsin Democrat*, Charles C. Sholes becoming owner and publisher. The *Democrat* was continued until the office was burned, in 1840, when it was removed

to Kenosha, and Brown County was left without a local journal.*

These publications could not be called newspapers as the term is understood to-day, yet the sheets were of a pure tone, the contents in many instances of high intellectual merit. Coming into the homes of a people cut off from outside communication for a large part of the year, they exerted an influence, the tendency of which was toward mental and moral improvement. In the leading column of the first page were the poems, sometimes contributed, but more frequently copied from well-known authors, followed by short stories or essays on "Domestic Happiness," "Eternity," "The Sabbath," or other topics of a similar character. On the second page, in place of editorials on tariff reform or our relations with foreign countries, were selections on such subjects as "Sacred

* Early in 1840, the Ryan brothers, James and Samuel, issued a paper called the *Republican*; and in 1846 the *Green Bay Advocate*, a Democratic journal, was established by Charles D. and Albert Robinson. In 1866, Colonel George C. Ginty and Dwight I. Follett began to publish the *Green Bay Gazette* (Republican) and in 1871 Green Bay's first daily was started by George Hoskinson and D. I. Follett, Colonel Ginty having withdrawn from the firm.

Music," "The Bobolink," "Death," or "My Mother." There was a noticeable lack of local or personal items, and important news from the outside world was stated with the preface, "By a gentleman lately arrived we learn," or "A gentleman from Washington tells us." Points which were made by the editor and which he feared might escape his readers' attention, were italicized by a clenched hand with outstretched forefinger at beginning and end of sentences in the midst of a paragraph, giving an odd appearance to the page. The advertising column brings before us the girl of the period, in her saracenet or levantine gown, with tambour'd Swiss muslin handkerchief, short-wristed mitts and large leghorn hat, adorned with floating ostrich plumes.

During the next decade, as facilities for communication with the seaboard increased, there was a marked change in the character of these village journals: yet the tiny *Intelligencer*, the first newspaper published between Lake Michigan and the Pacific Ocean, heralded the many-columned sheets of the present day.

At the mission school-house, the Green Bay Lyceum, one of the then popular societies for stimulating thought, met on winter evenings and gravely discussed such questions as the following: "Is the Colonization Society established for the benefit of the Blacks, more beneficial to the public than the influence exerted by Temperance Societies throughout the Union?"

The history of the fur trade during these later years is interesting only as showing in statistics the large dealings of the Astor corporation and the immense profits accruing therefrom despite the hard times constantly deplored. Green Bay was the centre of a lucrative trade extending up the Menominee and Wisconsin Rivers, where each winter "jack-knife" posts were established—Lawe, Porlier, the Grignons, and a number of American traders having their regular wintering grounds. Whisky was distributed in immense quantities, the fur company sending, in 1830, sixty barrels, and another year fifty-six barrels of the fiery liquid to one Green Bay trader alone, "enough to half drown all the Indians you deal with," writes one of the principals from Mackinac. A thorn in

the flesh of Stuart and Crooks was that irresponsible braggart, the Canadian *engagé*, so necessary an assistant in the rough life of the wilderness. Deserters and delinquents they were called, and in 1832 Robert Stuart endeavored to have the Michigan legislature re-enact the old whipping-post statute, as it was impossible to hold refractory servants to their duty by prosecution for damages, which they never had money to pay. In 1834 Astor retired from the American Fur Company, disposing of his interest to Ramsay Crooks.

For many years later the corporation continued to have dealings with Green Bay, but the palmy days of the fur trade were at an end, and with it passed away much that made the town interesting and picturesque: the large bands of motley-clothed savages, that yearly encamped on the river plateau, and remained for weeks at a time to barter and beg at the settlement; the loading and unloading of barges at the broad, low warehouses along the shore; the autumnal influx of traders; and, above all, the blithe, merry-hearted *voyageur*, whose songs yet haunt these river valleys, where his presence is seen no

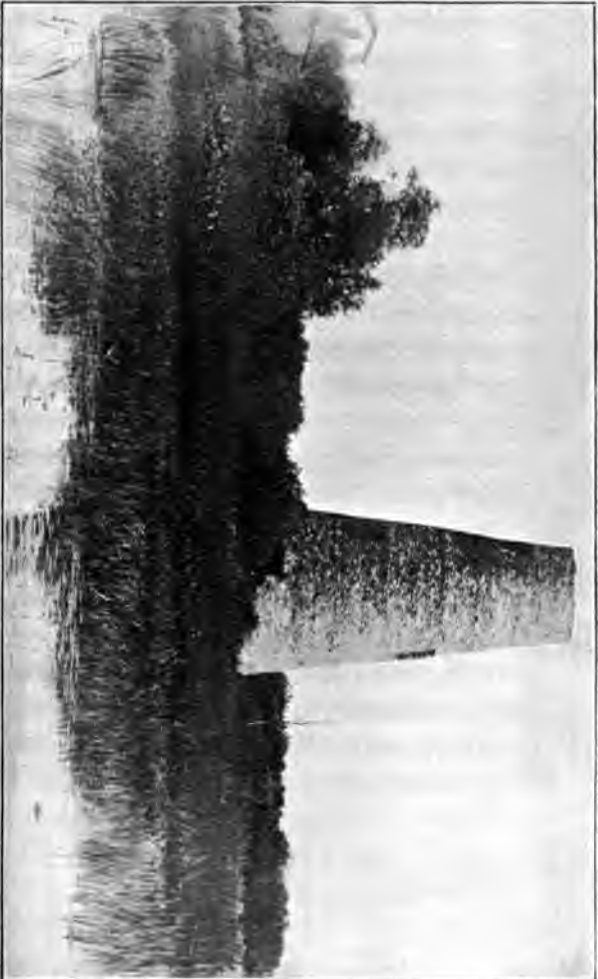
more. Still, when the season comes for the return of these gay vagabonds, when the chill mornings dawn, and mist hangs heavy over marsh and river, followed by the warm, lingering sunshine of afternoon, when the woods are a hazy green, with here and there a scarlet dash of sumach, and an occasional shot rings out, for the ducks are flying southward, one can almost hear the far-off chorus to which the paddles keep steady time, striking the water in sharp precision as with a single blow. Above the quiet lapping of the river rises the song:

Reveillé, reveillé, reveillé—
 Dans mon chemin j'ai rencontré
 Trois cavalieres, bien montés ;
 Trois cavalieres, bien montés,
 L'unà cheval, et l'autre à pied ;
 L'on lon, laridon daine
 Lon, ton laridon dai."*

To those familiar with this old town and its history, the shores of Fox River are peopled as by enchantment with the actors in scenes of long ago. The haughty commandant, De Villiers, comes

*The air to which these words were sung so charmed the poet Moore as his *voyageur* crew on the St. Lawrence trolled it over and over again, that he set to it the words of his "Canadian Boat Song"—

"Row, brothers, row, the stream runs fast,
 The rapids are near and the daylight is past."



Old Light House Tower at Long Tail Point.

forth again from the walls of old Fort St. Francis to wreak his vengeance on the rebel Sacs in their village across the river; Pere Marquette's black-robed form and pale, intellectual face; curious travelers bent on exploration of the unknown wilderness; soldier of fortune and blanketed savage, and the light-hearted, inconsequent *coureur de bois*, all "march in gay mixture" along the broad water highway. Once more the little log cabins spring up on the shore, and the witching notes of a violin tremble upon the air. If it is Easter-tide a greater part of the community are away at that most alluring of sylvan gathering places, the sugar camp.

Preparations for the sugar season were commenced by the middle of February, and when the warm, sunny days and slightly frosty nights of early spring-time induced the upward run of sap, life grew busy in these wildwoods. Men, women, and even the children, were all kept employed supplying wood for the fire, setting birch bark casseaus to catch the sap, which was carried to camp in buckets of basswood bark. Constant care became necessary as soon as the boiling process began.

This was carefully watched day and night by the women in charge, who relieved each other in the tedious work of standing over the great, shining, brass kettles, a branch of hemlock in hand to cool the too rapid thickening of the foamy syrup. During the Lenten fast this pleasure-loving people relinquished their merry-makings, ready, however, to usher in the Easter Festival, that most joyous holy day of the year, with glad thanksgiving and renewed social delight. Then parties from the fort were invited to visit the camps, and either in French train, or on horse-back, if the snow was gone, the gay company took its way through silent, leafless woods, filled with the subtle fascination of awakening spring, when Nature, faintly stirred from its long winter's sleep, lies drowsing, waiting for a breath of summer to rouse it into life. Arriving at the camp the party was welcomed with such good cheer as could be prepared under the primitive conditions, supplemented perhaps, in picnic style, by the guests themselves, and seasoned with lively talk and jest. When dusk fell came the inevitable fiddle, bowed then as now by the nimble fingers of a

Ducharme, which set gay feet in motion,— and so day glided into night, and at last the party rode home under the shining stars.

As one looks back to that primitive era in the history of Green Bay, it seems pervaded by a sunny cheeriness which neither stern deprivation nor grim toil had power to shadow or depress. These bright tableaux, already removed far in perspective, under the transforming touch of innovation and change, are fast fading in form and color. Yet each year that slips away, while taking with it some old landmark or association, brings to the town a substantial prosperity, a broader culture, and a steady trend toward the progress of the outside world.



INDEX.

[BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES.]

ABA

ABANEL, Jesuit missionary, 67.
Advocate, early newspaper, 266.
Algonkin Indians, 5; early trade with French, 4; Nicolet with, 6-14; war with Iroquois, 19.
Allen, early steamboat captain, 175.
Allouez, Claude, at La Pointe, 27, 28; at Green Bay, 28, 32-42, 44, 45, 50-56; with St. Lusson, 59; in Illinois, 66.
Allouez (town), established, 162.
American Fur Company, 149, 151, 157, 189-192, 250, 259, 260, 268-275.
American State Papers, 81, 150, 154, 157, 158, 159, 173.
André, Louis, with St. Lusson, 59; at Green Bay, 50-56, 66, 67.
Arndt, Charles C. P., register of probate, 189.
Arndt, John P., establishes ferry, 197, 198; probate judge, 199; innkeeper, 199; judge, 247; vestryman, 239; councillor, 261.
Ashwaubenon Creek, legend of, 174.
Astor, John Jacob, establishes American Fur Co., 149; interests at Green Bay, 188, 259, 260, 269.
Astor (town), 221.
BADIN, early Catholic priest, 232, 233.
Baird, Henry S., first lawyer, 184, 248; vestryman, 239; councillor, 260, 264; cited, 182.
Baird, Mrs. Henry S., cited, 190, 259.
Balfour, Capt., English commandant, 109-111.
Bancroft, George, *History of United States*, 69.

BRO

Bank of Wisconsin, opened, 260.
Bass Channels, Nicolet at, 11.
Bay de Noquet, Nicolet at, 9.
Bayfield, Lieut., at Green Bay, 175.
Beall, Samuel W., vestryman, 239; receiver of land office, 257.
Bennett, P. S., *History of Methodism in Wisconsin*, 241.
Beaujeu, with Langlade at Braddock's defeat, 100.
Beaupré, land claimant, 174.
Biddle, John, Indian Agent, 150.
Black Hawk, Sac chief, in war of 1812-15, 189.
Black Hawk War, Green Bay's part in, 243-245.
Bowyer, John, Indian agent, 149, 150, 160, 180.
Bonneville, American commandant, 256.
Bourassa, Charlotte, wife of Charles de Langlade, 114, 115, 122.
Boyd, George, Indian agent, 244, 249, 250.
Brady, Hugh, American commandant, 196, 197.
Braddock's defeat, Langlade at, 100, 101.
Brébeuf, Father, ascends the Ottawa, 8.
Brevoort, Henry B., territorial judge, 183, 186; Indian agent, 206, 207, 234.
Brevoort, Marie, on early garrison days, 206-209.
Brooks, George M., American commandant, 251.
Brooks, Mrs. George M., early Methodist, 240.
Brothertown Indians, removed to Wisconsin, 218.
Brown County, how named, 180; organized, 179, 180; first courts, 180-189, 264.

- BRO
- Brown, D. E., Protestant missionary, 237, 240.
- Bruce, W. H., 262.
- Brunette, Baptiste, Green Bay pioneer, 116, 117, 131.
- Brunette, Dominick, early settler, 142.
- Bulger, A., commandant at Fraire du Chien, 145.
- Butler, Daniel, early Presbyterian, 241.
- Butte des Morts (Grand), Indian council at, 203.
- Buttes des Morts (Petite), origin of name, 90.
- CADLE**, Richard F., Indian mission of, 233-237, 239, 240.
- Cadle, Sarah B., early teacher, 233.
- Camp Smith, 166, 193, 233, 238.
- Carron, orator of Menomonees, 116, 152.
- Carron, M., early teacher, 159.
- Carron, Mme., early teacher, 159.
- Cass, Lewis, western Indian superintendent, 150, 176, 177, 180, 181.
- Chakauchokama (Old King), chief of Menomonees, 116, 152, 153.
- Chambers, American officer, 151, 153, 155.
- Chambers Island, origin of name, 151.
- Champlain, Samuel de, colonizes Quebec, 3; interest in the Northwest, 4-7; attacks Iroquois, 19; death, 14.
- Chapman, William H., American officer, 240, 251, 254.
- Chardon, Jesuit missionary, 67, 81, 83, 86, 87, 231.
- Charlevoix, P. F. X., *History of New France*, 57, 58, 69, 79, 82; at Green Bay, 81-83.
- Chequamegon Bay, Jesuit mission on, 27.
- Chevallier family, pioneers, 131.
- Chevallier, Louise, married, 135.
- Childs, Ebenezer, early settler, 161, 203.
- Chippewa Indians, visited by Allouez, 27; with Langlade, 99, 100, 119; in Pontiac war, 112, 114, 125; relations with Americans, 170.
- De L
- Christ Church, 239, 240.
- Clark, George Rogers, feared at Green Bay, 120.
- Clark, J. C., Methodist missionary, 240.
- Clark, Nathan, American commandant, 243, 245, 251.
- Clérmont, Alexis, early mail carrier, 250.
- Chigancourt, French commissioner, 86.
- Colden, Cadwallader, *History of Five Nations*, 77.
- Collins, midshipman, 175.
- "Columbia," early steamer, 223, 224.
- Cotton, John, American officer, 240.
- Courcelles, governor of New France, 60.
- Coureurs de bois*, in Wisconsin, 39-46, 67-78. See Du Lhut, and Perrot.
- Courts, first established, 180-189, 264.
- Coutume de Paris*, 134, 181.
- Crane, Mrs. H. O., 95.
- Crawford County, established, 183.
- Crawford, Misses, early teachers, 237.
- Crawford, William, *God's Providence for Forty Years*, 242.
- Crespel, Emanuel, cited, 86.
- Crime, early, 169-171, 192, 193.
- Crooks, Ramsey, en route to Pacific, 138; agent of American Fur Co., 149, 157, 189, 191, 269; land speculations, 259, 260.
- Curtis, Daniel, early teacher, 193, 194.
- Curtis, Irene, marries Rucker, 193.
- DABLON**, Jesuit superior, 28, 45, 46, 49-53, 59, 178.
- "Dallas," revenue cutter, 175.
- D'Amariton, French commissioner, 86.
- Davis, Jefferson, marries Knox Taylor, 165.
- De Frontenac, governor of New France, 60, 61, 64, 73.
- De Joinville, Prince, visits Green Bay, 223-226.
- De la Barre, governor of New France, 73.
- De Langlade, Augustin, settles Green Bay, 92-94, 97, 112; at Mackinac, 106.

De L

- De Langlade, Charles Michel, career of, 92-125, 191, 192; commission from Louis XV., 107; death, 123, 124.
- De Lignery, Sieur Marchand, chastises Foxes, 85-87, 231.
- De Louvigny, chastises Foxes, 84, 85.
- De Montigny, French commandant, 81, 88, 85.
- De Pere, Nicolet at, 18; Jesuits at, 34, 88, 51, 64, 68, 75, 92, 231; French fort at, 81; early quarry, 166; Schoolcraft at, 176, 177; county seat, 264.
- De Peyster, Arent S., English commandant at Mackinac, 117-120; *Miscellanies*, 118.
- De Smet, *Oregon Missions*, 36.
- De Tonti, Henri, at Green Bay, 69, 80.
- De Verville, Gautier, nephew of Charles de Langlade, 117-120.
- De Villiers, French commandant, 95-97, 270, 271.
- Dickinson, Joseph, early settler, 162, 261.
- Dickinson, William, early settler, 162, 208, 239.
- Dickson, Robert, agent of Northwest Fur Co., 137, 138, 152; expedition against Prairie du Chien, 139-146.
- Dobbins, John, navigator, 151.
- Dodge, Henry, attorney-general, 264.
- Doty, James D., in early murder case, 170; territorial judge, 183, 184, 247; councillor, 260, 262, 263; vestryman, 239; house at Shantytown, 187.
- Douglas, early teacher, 192.
- Doxtater, Polly, Oneida woman, 252.
- Doyle, hanged for murder, 245, 246.
- Dreuilletes, missionary, with St. Luson, 59.
- Ducharme, Angelique, cited, 231.
- Ducharme family, pioneers, 131.
- Ducharme, Joseph, 131, 242, 275.
- Duchesneau, Intendant of New France, 40.
- Du Jauny, Jesuit missionary, 98.

FOS

- Du Lhut, Daniel Grayson, *coureur de bois*, 39, 40, 67-71, 81.
- Durantaye, French commandant at Mackinac, 71.
- Dutchman's Creek, 138, 142, 150, 215.
- ELLIS, Albert G., 233; early education, 162, 194, 197, 214, 221; church warden, 239; councillor, 261, 262; surveyor, 248; cited, 212.
- Enjalran, Jesuit missionary, 67, 73.
- Episcopalians, early services of, 233, 238, 239; first church fair, 258, 259.
- Etherington, George, commandant at Mackinac, 106, 112, 113.
- FANNING, A. C. W., American commandant, 251.
- Fauvel, Catholic priest, 233.
- Folles Avolines. *See* Menomonee Indians.
- Follett, Dwight I., editor, 266.
- Follett, E. W., early Presbyterian, 241.
- Fort Crawford, 165.
- Fort Duquesne, Langlade at, 100-103.
- Fort Edward Augustus, successor to St. Francis, 109-111, 118.
- Fort St. Francis, built, 80, 81; Charlevoix at, 81-83; in Fox war, 80-92, 95; name changed to Edward Augustus, 109.
- Fort Snelling, Indian troubles at, 202, 203.
- Fort William Henry, Langlade at, 102, 103.
- Fort Winnebago, built, 206.
- Ft. Howard (city), site visited by Nicolet, 13.
- Fort Howard (post), 162, 165-169, 177, 194-198, 240, 251-256; established by Americans, 148-155; in Red Bird war, 203-205; in Black Hawk war, 243-245; under Twiggs, 205, 206; gay life at, 206-209; religious services in, 232, 233, 242; demolished, 256. *See* Forts St. Francis, and Edward Augustus.
- Foster, Lieut., murdered by Doyle, 245, 246.

FOX

Fox Indians, visited by Alouez, 27, 33, 37, 38; war with French, 59-91, 95, 96; in Pontiac war, 114; in Red Bird war, 201.

Fox-Wisconsin highway, mapped by Champlain, 5; traveled by Marquette, 63; by Du Lhut, 68; by LaSeuer, 69; closed in Fox war, 80; the Astoria adventurers, 138; improvement of, 206.

Franks, Jacob, fur trader, 126-129, 131, 133, 141.

Frazier, William C., district judge, 264.

French colonize Quebec, 3; explore Northwest, 4-9; discover Wisconsin, 9-14; explorations in Wisconsin, 17-23. *See* Fur Trade, Jesuits, Langlades, Mackinac Island, Fort St. Francis.

French, Bella, *History of Brown Co.*, 232, 239, 262.

Fur Trade, Winnebagoes at Quebec, 4; under French, 7, 17-25, 27, 39-46, 58-60, 67, 69-73, 76-91; the Langlades, 92-125; Northwest Co., 126-132; American Co., and independent traders, 133, 136, 137, 141, 149, 151, 157, 158, 180, 181, 185, 189-192, 250, 268-275; government factories, 156-158.

GARLIC Island, Dickson at, 141-143, 145.

Gazette, newspaper, 266.

Ginty, George C., editor, 266.

Gorrell, James, English lieutenant, 109-111, 113.

Grass Island, Nicolet at, 11.

Gratiot, Major, American officer, 153, 154.

Green Bay (city), visit of Nicolet, 10-13; Radisson, 20-22; early fur trade, 27; Perrot, 42-45; Jesuit missions, 23, 32-42, 45-56, 66-69; Marquette, 62-65; La Salle, 69; La Hotan, 70; early French fort, 81; Charlevoix, 81; the Langlades, 92-125; English occupancy, 109-132; Pontiac war, 112-116; Reaume's court, 133-137; early American fur trade, 133, 136, 137; the Astoria adventurers, 138; war of 1812-15, 139-146; outlook after the war, 147, 148; arrival of

HOR

American troops, 152-155; American Fur Co., 149, 153, 157, 158, 189-192, 259, 260, 268-275; fur trade factories, 156, 157; Red Bird war, 201-204; Indian council of 1830, 246-249; Black Hawk war, 243-245; hangings, 171, 246; adjustment of French land claims, 171-174; Major Twiggs, 203, 206; advent of New York Indians, 212-221; the Lost Dauphin, 210-230; first appearance of name on a map, 178; Schoolcraft's visit, 175, 176; Indian agencies, 149, 150, 249, 250; life at Fort Howard, 162-166, 194-198, 206-209, 251-256; old times in Shantytown, 166-169; arrivals from the east, 161, 162; first ferry, 197, 198; Arndt's inn, 199, 200; early schools, 159-161, 192-194, 238, 239; early churches, 231-243; first newspapers, 265-267; first bank, 260; early courts, 180-189; land speculations, 257-260; borough erected, 260; meeting of legislative council, 261-263; chosen as county seat, 264, 265; early American life, 253, 254.

Green Bay (water), Nicolet on, 10; described by Marquette, 62, 63.

HANGINGS, early, 171, 246.

Hanson, John H., *The Lost Prince*, 228.

Hardwick, Moses, early mail-carrier, 169, 250, 251.

Hart, Asahel, early Presbyterian, 241.

Heberd, S. S., *Wisconsin under French Dominion*, 75.

Hennepin, Louis, in Wisconsin, 67-69, 178.

Hobart, Bishop, 213, 222.

Hobart University, 238.

Holland Church, first courthouse, 265.

Holton, Amos, early teacher, 192, 193.

Hoot Schoop (Four Legs), Winnebago chief, 247.

Horner, John W., acting governor of Michigan, 261-263.

Horjil. *See* Winnebago Indians.

HOS

Hoskinson, George, editor, 266.
Hunt, American officer, 196.
Hunt, Wilson, P., en route to Pacific, 138.
Huron Indians, war with Winnebagoes, 7; Nicolet with, 8, 10; Radisson with, 19, 20, 22; with Langlade, 100.

ILLINOIS Indians, visited by Nicolet, 14; by Allouez, 27; by Marquette, 61, 62, 65.
Intelligencer, early newspaper, 265-267.
Iroquois Indians, war with Hurons, 19, 20, 26; relations with Wisconsin tribes 35, 43, 44, 69, 71, 74, 79.
Irvin, David, territorial judge, 185, 186, 189.
Irwin, Alexander J., early settler, 161, 185, 239, 245, 261.
Irwin, Matthew, trading post factor, 156, 157; chief justice, 180, 181.
Irwin, Robert, early settler, 161, 169.
Irwin, Robert (Jr.), early settler, 161; clerk of court, 180; vestryman, 239.

JACOBS, John Baptiste, early teacher, 192.
Jesuits, Huron mission, 8; early Wisconsin missions, 24-56, 61, 62, 66-69, 73-76, 81-83, 86, 87; *Relations*, 5, 7, 12, 25, 29, 35, 49, 178.
Johnson, Thomas S., early teacher, 160.
Johnston, George, early sheriff, 159, 180, 203.
Joliet, Louis, discovers Mississippi river, 19, 60-64; at Green Bay, 28; with St. Luson, 59.
Jones, George W., congressional delegate, 262.
Jourdain, Joseph, habitant, 221.
Jourdain, Madeline, marries Williams, 221.
Juneau, Solomon, fur trader, 234, 250.

KAKALING. See Kaukauna Rapids.
Kaukauna Rapids, Allouez at, 38; Dablon at, 49, 50; Schoolcraft at, 176.
Kemper, Bishop, 213, 240, 249.

LOR

Ketauka, Chippewa murderer, 171.
Kickapoo Indians, in Fox war, 75.
Kinzie, Mrs. John H., *Wau Bun*, 223, 245.

LA BAYE. La Baye des Puants. La Baye Verte. See Green Bay.
La Hontan, Baron, at Green Bay, 70.
Lake Michigan, 73, 177; early explorations of, 4, 9, 14, 20, 30; Marquette on, 65, 66.
Lake Sandy, Schoolcraft at, 176.
Lake Superior, explorations of, 5, 9, 19, 176; Jesuit missions on, 26-28, 66, 80; copper mines, 57.
Lake Winnebago, visited by Nicolet, 13; by Radisson, 21; by Allouez, 38; in Fox war, 90; in war of 1812-15, 141-143, 145; home of the Winnebagoes, 153, 154; New York Indians removed to, 218.
Land claims, adjustment of, 171-174.
Land speculation, early, 257-260.
La Pointe, Jesuit mission at, 27, 28, 62.
La Potherie, Bacqueville de, *Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale*, 58, 74, 78.
L'Arbre Croche, English at, 118, 114, 119.
La Rose, land claimant, 174.
Lawe, John, fur trader, 126, 129, 138, 140, 141, 160, 175, 189, 190, 192, 268; judge, 181, 183, 189; vestryman, 239.
La Salle, Chevalier de, at Green Bay, 69, 72.
Langevin, Madame, pioneer, 232.
Lawrence, American commandant, 207.
Lee, Isaac, adjusts French land claims, 172-174.
Lee, Francis, American commandant, 256.
Legral, pioneer, 116, 117.
Leslie, Lieut., at Mackinac, 113.
Long Tail Point, Nicolet's visit, 11.
Loring, H. H., American officer, 195, 196.

LOU

Louis Philippe, at Green Bay, 122; relations with Williams, 223-230.

MCCALL, James, Indian commissioner, 246-249.

McGalpin, English sergeant, 140.

McKay, William, expedition against Prairie du Chien, 144.

Mackinac Island, Nicolet sees, 9; Jesuits at, 28, 31, 50, 65, 79; in Fox war, 59, 70, 77, 78, 80, 88; Langlades at, 93, 97, 103, 105, 106, 112-115, 117, 118; under Northwest Fur Co., 126, 129, 137; ceded to United States, 132; seized by English, 139-141, 144, 156; under permanent American control, 148; American Fur Co., 149, 151, 158, 178, 189, 268; early court, 183.

McNeil, John, American commandant, 194, 195, 197.

Madison, William S., murdered by Indians, 170.

Mail-carriers, early, 169, 250, 251.

Maloney, Maurice, American officer, 240.

Marchand, pioneer, 117.

Marcy, Ellen, marries McClellan, 252.

Marcy, Randolph, American officer, 251-252.

Marin, Sieur Piere, chastises Foxes, 88-90.

Marin, Sieur (cadet), French commandant, 98, 102.

Marquette, James, at La Pointe, 28, 62; discovers Mississippi River, 19, 60-65; death, 66.

Marsh, Cutting, Indian missionary, 242.

Martin, Mrs. Morgan, L., cited, 105, 192, 230, 231.

Martin, Morgan, L., at Green Bay, 186; trial of Prestige, 205, 206; president of borough, 260; cited, 183, 190, 206.

Mascoutin Indians, visited by Nicolet, 13, 14; by Radisson, 21, 22; by Allouez, 38; in Fox war, 75.

Mason, acting governor of Michigan, 246-249, 261.

Mazzuchelli, Samuel, Dominican friar, 243,

NIC

Membré, Jesuit missionary, 69
Ménard, Réne, Jesuit missionary, 26.

Menomonee Indians, visited by Allouez, 32, 39; Perrot with, 43; in Fox war, 59, 71, 84; with Langlade, 100; in Pontiac war, 114-116, 125; in war of 1812-15, 189; under American supremacy, 152, 194; relations with New York Indians, 213, 214, 218, 221, 246-249; in Black Hawk war, 244, 245.

Menomineeville. *See* Shantytown.

Merrill, Curtis M., American commandant, 256.

Merrill, Moses E., American officer, 251, 254.

Methodists, early services of, 240, 241.

Miami Indians at Green Bay, 38, 58.

Michigan Territory, possesses Wisconsin, 179, 180, 182.

Michillmackinac. *See* Mackinac.

Miller, John, brings troops to Green Bay, 150-154, 165.

Milwaukee, 250, 251; early Indians at, 119, 120; land speculations, 257, 258.

Mitchell, William, early Presbyterian, 241.

Montcalm, general-in-chief of New France, 102, 104, 105.

Montigny, French commandant, 152.

Moran, Edward, on Lieut. Gorrell, 111.

Mornaux, Louis, married by Reaume, 185.

Morse, Jedidiah, report on western tribes, 175, 212, 232.

NAVARINO (town), platted, 237, 238; land speculations at, 257, 258; early newspaper, 265.

Nelson, I. S., American officer, 195.

New France. *See* French.

Newspapers, early, 250, 251, 265-267.

New York Indians, removal to Wisconsin, 175, 194, 212-221, 246-249.

Nicolet, Jean, explores the Northwest, 6-9; first white in Wisconsin, 9-14.

NIS

Nissowaquet, Ottawa chief, 93, 94.
 Noquet Indians, Nicolet visits, 9, 10.
 Northwest Fur Company, 126-132.
 Nouvel, Henri, Jesuit missionary, 50, 67.
O'FALLON, Ben, American officer, 153.
 Ogden, William B., land speculator, 259.
 Ogemawnee, chief of Menomonees, 114.
 Ogilvie, Gillespie & Co., fur traders, 126.
 Ojibways. *See* Chippewa Indians.
 Oneida Indians, removal to Wisconsin, 218, 252; in Red Bird war, 208; relations with Eleazar Williams, 211-213.
 Onondaga Indians, proposed removal to Fox River, 213.
 Outatouacs. *See* Ottawa Indians.
 Otchagras. *See* Winnebago Indians.
 Ottawa Indians, visited by Radisson, 20; early missions to, 28; visited by Marquette, 61; with Langlades, 99, 100.
 Ouinebegoutz. *See* Winnebago Indians.
 Outagamies. *See* Fox Indians.
PARKMAN, Francis, *Old Regime*, 39; *Pioneers of New France*, 45; *Discovery of Great West*, 58; *Half Century of Conflict*, 85; *Montcalm and Wolfe*, 99, 102, 104.
 Peet, Stephen, Presbyterian missionary, 242.
 Perrot, Nicholas, fur trader, 42-45, 58, 59, 70-80, 176, 189, 215; with St. Lussou, 57, 58.
 Pinkney, Ninian, American commandant, 194, 197, 215.
 Pontiac uprising, 112-116.
 Portage (city), 13, 250; in Fox war, 86; Red Bird's surrender, 208; Twiggs at, 206; as a boundary of Brown Co., 180.
 Porlier, Jacques, fur trader, 126, 129, 144, 149, 159, 189; chief justice, 181-183.
 Porlier, Louis, fur trader, 268.
 Porter, Jeremiah, early preacher, 227, 242.

RIV

Pottawattomie Indians, visited by Allouez, 27-29, 31, 33; Perrot with, 43, 78; in Fox war, 59, 84; with Langlade, 100.
 Powell, Peter, in war of 1812-15, 144.
 Prairie du Chien, fur trade, 126; British expedition against, 139-146; Red Bird uprising, 201-204; adjustment of French land claims, 171-174.
 Pritchard, Richard, school patron, 160.
 Presbyterians, early services of, 233, 241, 242.
 Prestige, William, attempt to murder Twiggs, 205, 206.
 Puants. *See* Winnebago Indians.
RABBIS, early settler, 142.
 Radisson, Sieur, explores Wisconsin, 17-24, 40.
 Reaume, Charles, justice of the peace, 133-137, 150, 180, 181.
 Recollect friars, in Wisconsin, 67-69.
 Red Banks, first home of Winnebagoes, 11.
 Red Bird, Winnebago avenger, 202-204.
 Reny, Lieut., geographical survey, 175.
Republican, early newspaper, 266.
 Richard, Gabriel, vicar-general, 232.
 River Black, Ménard on, 26.
 River Chippewa, Radisson on, 22.
 River East, 40, 41, 162.
 River Fox, Nicolet on, 11-14; Radisson, 21-23; Allouez, 28, 32-42; Dablon, 49, 50; Marquette, 63; Du Lhut and Hennepin, 68, 178, 179; La Hontan, 70; Charlevoix, 81-83; arrival of Langlades, 114, 115; American fur trade on, 126, 133, 138, 148, 156-158; the *voyageurs*, 270, 271; in war of 1812-15, 139-146; arrival of American troops, 152-155; first ferry, 197, 198; arrival of New York Indians, 212-221, 246-249; first steamboat, 174, 175.

RIV

- River Menominee, 94; Ménard on, 26; Allouez on, 35; fur trade on, 268.
- River Mississippi, discovery by Radisson, 22; by Joliet and Marquette, 19, 60-64; fur trade on, 76, 79, 80, 126, 130, 178; in Fox war, 90; exploration to sources of, 175, 176; Indian uprising on, 202.
- River Neenah, early name for Fox, 11.
- River St. Croix, 182.
- River Wisconsin, early explorers on, 13, 19, 26, 68, 264; fur trade on, 263; boundary of Brown Co., 180.
- River Wolf, 13; Allouez's mission on, 38.
- Rivière Glaise. *See* Dutchman's Creek.
- Rivière du Diable. *See* River East.
- Roads (military), established, 250.
- Robinson, Albert, early editor, 266.
- Robinson, Charles D., early editor, 266.
- Robinson, John C., American officer, 251, 252, 255.
- Rocheblave, fur trader, 129.
- Roman Catholics, 231-233, 241-243. *See* Jesuits.
- Root, Erastus, Indian commissioner, 246-249.
- Root, William, American officer, 240, 255.
- Rosselle, W. B., American officer, 251.
- Roy, Amable, pioneer, 117.
- Roy family, pioneers, 131.
- Roy, Joseph, pioneer, 116, 117.
- Ryan, Samuel, American officer, 240; early editor, 266.
- Ryan, James, early editor, 266.
- SAC Indians, visited by Allouez, 27, 33, 38, 54; in Fox war, 81-83, 85, 95-97; in Pontiac war, 114; in war of 1812-15, 139; in Red Bird uprising, 201; in Black Hawk war, 244, 245.
- St. Francis Xavier mission. *See* Green Bay, Jesuits at.
- St. Lussou, Daumont takes possession of Northwest, 57-60.
- St. Regis Indians, on Fox River, 247.

TAS

- Sault Ste. Marie, 27; Nicolet at, 9; Jesuits at, 28, 29, 39, 53; St. Lussou's visit, 58.
- Schools, early, 159-161, 192-194, 233-239.
- Schoolcraft, Henry R., at Green Bay, 176; *History of Indian Tribes*, 5; *Journal*, 176.
- Scott, Martin, American officer, 251-253, 255.
- Shantytown, 237; early life in, 166-169; early schools, 193, 233; early church, 242, 243; a garrison episode, 207-209; county seat, 184, 185.
- Shaylor, Ephraim, in charge of Ft. Howard, 256.
- Shea, John G., *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, 26, 36, 56.
- Sholes, Charles C., early editor, 265.
- Sibley, Caleb, American officer, 251.
- Silvey, Jesuit missionary, 67.
- Sioux Indians, 67, 113.
- Sister Clare, hospital nun, 243.
- Slaughter, William B., register of land office, 257.
- Smith, Edmund Kirby, American officer, 177, 207-209, 251, 255.
- Smith, Joseph Lee, American commandant, 165, 166, 177, 194.
- Southwest Fur Co., 138.
- Stambaugh, Samuel, Indian agent, 245, 249.
- Stearns, John W., *Columbian History of Education in Wisconsin*, 238.
- Stephenson, William, early editor, 265.
- Stockbridge Indians, in Red Bird war, 203; removal to Fox River, 213, 218, 242.
- Strong, Moses M., *History of Wisconsin Territory*, 257, 263.
- Stuart, Robert, land speculator, 260; fur trader, 269.
- Sturgeon Bay, Allouez at, 66.
- Suydam, John V., early printer, 234, 264, 265.
- TAILHAN, R. P. J., *Nicolas Perrot*, 43, 73, 264.
- Talon, Jean, intendant of New France, 57, 60, 61.
- Tassé, Joseph, on Langlade, 125.

